WAR, NATIONALISM AND THE GEORGIAN POLITICAL PRINT

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PLATE 1. St George and the Dragon B.M.C. 10076 (1803).

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ABSTRACT

"War, nationalism and the Georgian political print" is a study of some three thousand prints and cartoons and their illustration of the development of English nationalism under the impact of war. Under different subject headings the prints have been tackled chronologically, as change over time was generally greater than yearly stylistic or thematic variations. The depiction of change is the most important aspect of the prints. While individual prints, or even groups of prints, may be unreliable sources of information, isolated as they are in time and meaning, the dramatic change occuring in some print subjects has an important contribution to make towards a study of English nationalism from 1793-1814.

The Thesis is divided into six parts. In the introduction the use of the prints as a source is evaluated and the impact of visual culture examined. The relationship between the prints and society is studied and the concept of nationalism defined. Chapter two looks at the print's portrayal of xenophobia, one of the taproots of English nationalism. The concepts of divisions within English national feeling and change under the impact of war are introduced. In chapter three this nationalism is examined in the light of "King and Country" sentiment and the search for a national symbol. The development of symbols for nationalism is further traced in chapters four and five which look at the visual impact of Britannia, the constitution and John Bull. In the final chapter the relationship between militarism and nationalism is evaluated.

In concluding English nationalism is considered in the light of war experience. Visually there is a dramatic difference between the period from 1793-1802, 1803 and 1804-14. While this pictorial

record might overemphasise the impact of the struggle for national survival in 1803 there can be no doubt that a change in English attitudes towards nationalism did occur during the war. This change can be generalised as a development in emphasis from liberal, inward looking nationalism to an external nationalism whose vehicle of expansion was commercial might. However it must be stressed that this development was neither complete nor final at the end of 1814.

NOTE

All of the prints mentioned in this thesis are from the Chadwyck Healy microfilm edition of the print collection of the British Museum. Although not complete this collection is so comprehensive that it is, for the purposes of this study, the total record of surviving prints. References in the notes are to Mary Dorothy George ed, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum vols 7, 8, 9, (London 1942-54) (here after cited as B.M.C.). Prints in the notes are referred to by number, and if not indicated in the text, year of publication. Other references to the B.M.C. are by volume and page.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Georgian political print

Emotive, often illogical, but always entertaining, the Georgian political prints provide a rich visual source for historical study. However, as they tend to simplify, distort or suppress facts they can never provide a total picture of war and nationalism from 1793-1814. The prints form a supplementary body of opinion and fact that helps illustrate an historical period or concept. Nationalism, with a tendency to express itsself in crude, forceful symbols and the all-pervading impact of war topics that lend themselves well to a study of caricature. Both are wide enough areas to incorporate a large number of prints over a period of time and hence reduce interpretational errors.

Ivan Roots has suggested that the issues of the age, "could hardly be convincingly presented in graphic terms" but it is possible that he has under estimated the strength of the visual image.[1] Pictorial images possess an instant attractiveness lacking in the written word.[2] They visualise certain ideas ordinarily expressed in words and offer possibilities of meaning that extend beyond literary capabilities. The juxtaposition of images or symbols could form an idea that had no real or logical association and would be almost impossible to express in words. The persuasive power of such visualisations, depicted vividly and concretely, is large. It must be remembered that the eighteenth century was a period steeped in symbolic and visual culture.[3] While the prints were a poor vehicle for dealing with complex ideology, they dealt, as indeed did much of their audience, in emotions, images and symbols. It was possible

to interpret and support a concept like nationalism in this way without an understanding of its philosophical meaning.

The prints presented interpretational problems not only to modern historians but also to their audience in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a mistake to see the prints as simplistic picture stories for the illiterate (although some operated at this level). Headings, captions, dialogue, labels and verbal explanations of meaning required a print to be read as well as viewed. Many were complex allegorical structures while others operated on several levels of meaning. Their structure of communication was open, inviting audience participation.[4] They were not immediate or ephemeral (like a modern political cartoon), nor were they designed to be read and cast away like a newspaper. Functioning as art as well as entertainment they required an intellectual effort, as well as time and insight to be appreciated.

Although little research has been done on the print audience, it is possible to build up a general picture of who bought or saw the prints. Two levels of audience were targeted; simple visual imagery or representation of objects and events were designed for a wider less perceptive audience; the subtle conceits and sophisticated political satires were designed for readers of penetration, with inside political knowledge. The large number of specialist political prints made an up to date political background an essential tool of understanding. The audience could be expected to identify not only the King, William Pitt and Charles Fox but also a host of lesser figures. As well as politics, allusions were often made to artistic or literary sources. Cost and distribution also defined the prints' audience. Most prints were read by a highly literate, well educated, metropolitan, upper or middle class audience.[5]

However during the period of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars the print audience was widening. The middle classes, both in and outside London, were experiencing an increased political participation.[6] The prints themselves both promote and reflect this trend; symbols and images became less arcane, making the prints more readily accessible. Many prints such as the Napoleonic broadsides eschewed political subjects. Simple political statements, rhetoric and middle class images were produced in increasing numbers of higher quality prints. This trend was paralleled in newspapers, which were becoming more political. The tendency to move away from aristocratic to lower class topics has been noticed by Charles Press.[7]

Even when print topics widened, the lack of a corresponding drop in price ensured that they were still purchased as curiosities or collectors items by the upper and middle classes. The average cost of sixpence a sheet (two shillings coloured) was expensive in comparison with other media. They were three times the cost of a newspaper.[8] The cost to hire out a collection was even more prohibitive; two shillings sixpence with a pound deposit, this was well beyond the means of the lower classes.[9] Exhibitions at a shilling a head, too, were aimed at those with the ability for luxury spending. Of course there was always the cheap method of looking at the printshop windows, and records do indicate that large crowds would gather outside.[10] However, most of the political prints were distributed through a small number of shops located in fashionable areas. This meant that only a very small number of the lower classes ever came in contact with most prints. Occasionally cheap prints were offered, but, if political, these were usually subsidised or intended as propaganda. When political upheaval was expected the propertied classes could resort to posting prints in taverns or workshops.[11]

Wide circulation of some prints did not mean a large audience in newspaper terms. In 1801 newspapers in England sold over one and a half million copies; the average yearly print production was only some fifty thousand copies.[12] The majority of prints sold less than five hundred copies; the techniques of engraving meant that only a "few hundred" good prints could be made before a plate had to be recut. Only the very popular prints were reissued, although the copious imitation of ideas and images meant that some subjects or theme's audience would be greater than that of an individual print. If a print ran to over a thousand copies it was exceptional; Hogarth's Wilkes and Liberty sold almost four thousand.[13] Overall, lack of information makes quantitative measurement of print consumption impossible; in general it is safe to say that this consumption was small, though at times some print themes were perused by large numbers.

Finally, it must be remembered that the prints were almost exclusively metropolitan. Jane Austen's Admiral Croft might pass a Bath morning earnestly contemplating a printshop window, but very few prints were actually published outside London.[14] The only non-London printshop of any size was John Kay of Edinburgh, and his prints were predominantly on local subjects.[15] From 1811 onwards only one print has a provincial imprint.[16] In London the sale of prints was dominated by a few firms; Ackermann's Repositary, S. W. Fores, William Holland, H. Humphrey and from 1807 Thomas Tegg.[17] Most of these firms catered for an established clientele amongst the upper and middle classes; print production was geared to the months of the London season.[18] A visit to the printshop was part of the daily round of a man of fashion; Achermann advertised his shop as "the best mornings lounge".

Hannah Humphrey, as exclusive publisher of James Gillray and

and a character in her own right, rose to prominence in the early decade of the war. By 1797 she had a shop amongst the elegant town house, Clubs and coffee shops that decorated St James Street. Her only rival in the political field was Samuel Fores who published many artists, including Thomas Rowlandson, Isaac Cruikshank and later George Cruikshank. Fores specialised in supplying complete sets of caricatures for collectors and also advertised "Books of Caricatures" or "Folios of Caricatures" to be lent out for the evening. Both Humphrey and Fores aimed at a market amongst the London political oligarchy. Also aimed at the upper classes were the prints of Holland and Ackermann. Both avoided political satires; Holland specialised in expensive social prints and also lent out folio collections. Ackermann from his shops in the fashionable Picadilly and St James Streets catered for an audience of rich connoisseurs. From 1803 his output was strongly patriotic, concentrating on anti-Napoleon satire and avoiding anti-ministerial prints.

From 1807 Thomas Tegg introduced new methods of printselling. Based among the small printshops and newspaper outlets in the Cheapside district, he aimed at a wider audience than the leading printsellers and lured them with cheap prices. Because his prints were issued on cheap paper from worn out plates he was able to undercut his rivals. Ignoring political controversy, he appealed to the middle classes with a range of patriotic and anti-Napoleon prints. His new innovation Tegg's Caricature Magazine advertised "Bull's, Anecdotes, Jests Puns and Bon-Mots". He advertised not only to noblemen and gentlemen but also to merchants and sea captains, to whom he offers large batches at cheap prices. Tegg's success indicates the increasing demand for prints from the middle class audience.

The composition of the audience influenced the nature of the

prints. From the 1790's onwards three quarters of all prints were the work of some six or seven professional artists.[19] The dominance of professionals meant that print subjects were heavily influenced by sellability. The artists constantly monitored public opinion (taverns, gossip, newspapers, other artists) in order to find and exploit interesting subjects. In this way print topics captured public opinion and reflected it, (slightly altered), back to the public. Generally negative and more suited to revile rather than revere, the cartoonist could also influence opinion. Regarding it highly as a political weapon,Fox thought that ridicule was the best means to "lower" Pitt "personally".[20]

Most of the major artists from 1793-1814 were of middle class origin. James Gillray, the son of an enlisted (and later maimed soldier) stands supreme in the field of political caricature in this period.[21] Trained at the Royal Academy Schools and with an earlier career as an engraver,Gillray's works possess the depth and complexity of meaning often found in Hogarth.[22] His experience of soldiering makes him sympathetic to the regular soldier and he is usually opposed to war. Rowlandson,too, was strongly influenced by Hogarth and morally opposed to war.[23] His forté was social comedy and he delighted in portraying the grotesque.[24] The Cruikshanks, father and son,lived in a comfortable middle class environment in Bloomsbury, although the area also was characterised by upper and lower social mixes.[25] The other major artists were George Woodward (often in collaboration with Rowlandson) William Heath and Charles Williams, known as Ansell or C. W.,who was a follower and imitator of Gillray.

Generally, then, the prints were drawn by middle class artists, sold in shops advertising to middle and upper class clienteles and bought or read by the London middle and upper classes. Their main

function was to entertain and they thrived on political crises and corruption in high places. To a certain extent they reflected the extremes of opinions of the London oligarchy. Designed to be controversial, they provoked debate in order to sell more prints. Occasionally they took the form of propaganda and during 1793-1814 there were two major propaganda influences, the Gillray pension and the anti-Napoleon campaign 1803.

As the leading caricaturist Gillray's pension was of some importance. From December 1797-1801 and from 1807 onwards he received a secret ministerial pension.[26] Under this influence Gillrays work shifts in emphasis; the gross attacks on the Royal Family and Pitt virtually cease while attacks on the opposition, Jacobinism and the French remain.[27] Although Gillray's work is not usually pro-government and he is by no means a ministerial mouthpiece, the net result in this shift in emphasis is to support the government by ridicule of its opponents. It appears Gillray's efforts were successful; Lord Bateman wrote to Gillray in 1798 stating that "you have been of infinite service in lowering them (the opposition) and making them ridiculous.[28] Later Gillray was to stand out as a rare pro-government supporters amongst the numerous anti-government satires of the Melville and Clarke affairs.[29]

Gillray again was prominent in creating the "little Boney" image of 1803. Although not officially directed, the many anti-Napoleon prints of 1803 had the effect of propaganda. The critical war situation produced a unified body of opinion that had been lacking in the earlier sporadic propaganda of pro and anti-government groups.[30] In 1803 caricature played an important role in counteracting the tendency to regard Napoleon as a romantic hero. The image of the undersized, overdressed, uncontrolled little Emperor proved a

powerful talisman for the opposition to Napoleon.

Overall the visual impact of the prints was important within a limited area. They reflect above all the extremes of political opinion amongst the London middle and upper classes. The fact that these classes were politically active enhances the value of their opinions. Although the prints employment as propaganda was sporadic, such prints often reached the widest audience. Mostly reflectors of opinion the prints could occasionally influence. The change in print attitudes and opinions during 1793-1814 indicates a change in the ideology of the print audience, but this change can only be tentatively attributed to the wider English society.

2. Nationalism

Nationalism is a modern term,and when applied to England during 1793-1814 its meaning is less specific than when used to describe, say Germany in the 1930's. I have used the word loosely including concepts of patriotism, national consciousness, national xenophobia, national ideals and national characteristics under its heading. Patriotism is perhaps a more truly eighteenth century concept,but in England during this period it had a special meaning in association with the radical opposition.[31]

Nationalism is a complex term; a love of one's country, a sense of unity or identification with that country and a xenophobic sense of superiority are its central concepts.[32] It could either be liberal and inward-looking, drawing from political ideology and national tradition, or, external,concerned more with elements of xenophobia. It is important to remember that nationalism is never total; each individual or group of individuals will have a separate subjective concept of the nation within the objective parameters of the nation's social, political, cultural and historical development. In this thesis we are dealing predominantly with the nationalism of the London upper and middle classes.

During the eighteenth century the upper and middle classes in England had come to identify their interests and aims with those of the nation.[33] They used national rhetoric as an ideological carrier for traditional political arguments and as a weapon against the lower classes.[34] Under the impact of war xenophobia directed against the French helped build up a national consensus that overrode class divisions. War with its easily grasped concepts of "good" and "bad", "us" and "them" was a major catalyst of nationalism.[35]

The prints with their potent visual imagery expressed concepts of nationalism in symbols that were easily understood and could be used to support various national ideologies.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Ivan Roots, "Prints, politics and people, the English satirical print 1600-1832" History Today vol 37 (March, 1987) p 52; see also H. T. Dickinson, Caricatures and the Constitution (Cambridge,1986) p 20-1 for a similar argument.

2. Ronald Paulson, Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1975) ch 3, 4 discusses the interpretation and impact of visual images, see especially pp 47-9. Herbet McDonald Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth (Oxford, 1974) pp 65-7 also looks at the interpretation of visual images.

3. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 1-32 see also Peter Borsay, "All the towns a stage':urban ritual and ceremony 1660-1800" in Peter Clarke ed, The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800 (London, 1984); Paulson Emblem and Expression argues that empiracism supported the supremacy of visual over verbal expression see pp 48-9.

4. Paulson, Emblem and Expression pp 44-7.

5. This seems to be the consensus of most of the historians of the prints see among others Dickinson, Caricatures and the Constitution pp4, 15; Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth PP 64-5; Roots, Prints politics and people p 51.

6. The middle classes were increasingly involved in Volunteer movements, Loyalist movements and politics, see S. C. Smith, "Loyalty and opposition in the Napoleonic Wars: the impact of the Local Militia 1807-15" Oxford D. Phil Thesis 1984; J. E. Cookson "The English Volunteer Movement of the French Wars, 1793-1815: some contexts" (unpublished paper).

7. Charles Press, "The Georgian political print and democratic institutions" Comparative Studies in Society and History vol 19 (1977).

8. Ibid p 190.

9. Richard T. Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain. A General History from its Beginnings to the Present Day (Oxford, 1978) p 77.

10. Dickinson, Caricatures and the Constitution p 15.

11. Ibid

12. Ibid p 5.

13. Ibid

14. It is not clear what type of print Jane Austen refers to, the passage highlights the ambiquity of the word print (which could mean a variety of things in the eighteenth century) see anyway Jane Austen Persuasion Penguin, Middlesex (1986) pp 179-180.

15. B.M.C. vol p XLVII.

16. B.M.C. vol 9 p LVI.

17. For further information on Printsellers see the introductory section in B.M.C. vols 7, 8, 9 the information in this chapter is drawn from those volumes.

18. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 64-5.

19. Dickinson, Caricature and the Constitution pp 19-21 see also the sections on "Artists" in the introductions of B.M.C. vol 7, 8, 9.

20. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 67. The image of Napoleon would be a good example of this progress.

21. Mary Dorothy George, English Political Caricature 1793-1832 (Oxford, 1959) p 3.
22. Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain pp 74-5.
23. Ronald Paulson, Rowlandson: a New Interpretation (London,1972).
24. Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain pp 76-7.
25. John Wardroper ed, The Caricatures of George Cruikshank (London, 1977).
26. B.M.C. vol 7, p Xiii; vol 8 pp Xii-Xiii.
27. Mary Dorothy George, "Pictorial Propaganda, 1793-1815, Gillray and Canning" History vol 31 (1946) pp 21-23.
28. Quoted in George "Pictorial Propaganda" p 17.
29. Ibid p 23.
30. Earlier use of the prints as propaganda had been on a smaller scale, see George, "Pictorial Propaganda" pp 12-13.
31. Samuel Johnson defined patriotism in 1775 as "the last refuge of a scoundrel". For its association with radicalism see Hugh Cunningham "The language of patriotism 1750-1914" History Workshop vol 12 (1981).
32. For a theoretical discussion of nationalism see, John Pococks chapter on England in Orest Ranum ed, National Consciousness, History and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe (Baltimore, 1795) or Eugene Kamenka ed, Nationalism The native and evolution of an idea (Canberra, 1973).
33. Kamenka ed, Nationalism pp 7-8.
34. For this argument see Linda Colley, "whose nation? class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830" Past and Present no 118 (November, 1986) pp 103-4; the strongly xenophobic element is discussed in Micheal Duffy, The noisie empty fluttring French, English images of the French 1689-1815", History Today vol 32 (September, 1982) pp 26.

PLATE 2. The Contrast B.M.C. 8284 (1793).

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTRAST

In 1793 Rowlandson saw the French as monsters. His print The Contrast (PLATE 2) depicts a female representing "French Liberty".[1] She is ragged and grotesque and holds a dagger and a trident on which a human head and two hearts are impaled. The figure treads upon a headless corpse while in the background a body hangs from a lantern. The characteristics of French liberty are; atheism, perjury, rebellion, treason, anarchy, murder, equality, madness, cruelty, injustice, treachery, ingratitude, idleness, famine, national and private ruin and finally misery. Opposite France Britannia represents a host of British virtues which lead to "happiness". This print was a direct attempt at anti-French propaganda by the Crown and Anchor society and was sold at a discount, in hundred-lot batches.[2] The English market was to prove very receptive to such xenophobic contrasts.

Antagonism towards France was not a new phenomenon. From as early as the twelfth century the Kings of England and France had been rivals. As the two kingdoms developed over the centuries this rivalry extended into religious, cultural, geo-political and commercial areas.[3] These rivalries were not the empty expressions of national prejudice but rested firmly on actual conflicts of interest. Perhaps the most bitter conflict of all was religion.[4] Since the Henrician Reformation France had been closely identified with Catholic threats to England. France was seen as an enemy because she was Catholic, and because she was Catholic she was naturally an enemy. The religious wars of the seventeenth century had fuelled English anti-Catholicism while France's support of the Catholic pretenders fanned the flames.

The strength of English anti-Catholicism had been felt quite recently during the Gordon riots of 1780 and crys of no-Popery were to be raised during 1793-1814.[5]

As well as representing the threat of Catholic hegemony, France also embodied the danger of universal Monarchy.[6] The aggressive European policy of the French Kings alarmed English governments while their autocratic powers were an anathema to most Englishmen. Successive English governments had sought to maintain a weak,divided Europe to which a strong France was the greatest threat. In the eighteenth century England had been at war with France for lengthy periods. The war of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War and the War of American Independence all contributed towards a residue of hostility. Even when not at war the two powers were in active commercial or colonial rivalry. Similar exports and spheres of influence meant that both competed for the same markets and the same goods.[7]

However,for a great majority the rivalry between France and England could loosely be termed "cultural". For years the English had underlined their own freedoms by dwelling on the horrors of continental enslavement while French sterotypes became expressions of un-Englishness. As early as the seventeenth century the sterotype of the Frenchman was fixed as the vain, overcivilised, pretentious fop, given to excess in fashion, food and manners.[8] This national sterotype was a figure of ridicule in theatre, literature and print. When the cartoonists wished to symbolise nations as animals they turned to the monkey or ape to represent France. Animal imagery was well established in allegory deriving back to the fables and heraldry of the middle ages.[9] In this medieval tradition every animal had its characteristics, that of the monkey being vanity and folly. The monkey like the fop depicted French affection; "Their Modes so

strangely alter human shape / what Nature made a Man they made an Ape".[10] In 1713 the monkey also became a symbol of subtlety and deceit when Arbuthnot turned Louis Bourbon into Lewis Baboon.[11] Other animal symbols used for the French were a toad (a development of gastronomic chauvinism) or a cock,symbolising vanity.[12]

Three other themes emphasise the un-Englishness of the French in prints. Firstly,they were depicted as effete and slavish and this was symbolised by a wooden shoe.[13] The sabot came to be associated with the lowest and meanest forms of French intellectual and social poverty. Secondly,the cartoonists expressed their ridicule of things French with an attack on French food. Hogarth's very popular The Gate of Calais epitomises the average Englishmans perceptions of the difference between English roast beef and French soupe-meagre.[14] Roast beef leads to stout well fed husbandmen while soupe-meagre, frogs and snails leave one undernourished and unsatisfied. Gastronomic prints were very effective and popular, the contrast being accepted literally by the lower classes.[15] The third symbol of un-Englishness was fashion. French fashions were seen as impractial and superficial and symbolised the emptiness, self-deceit and aggrandisement of the French.[16]

Cultural opposition to France distinguished social divisions in England, for among the governing classes there was considerable respect and admiration for French culture. Things French,such as fashion, manners and food,were enthusiastically patronised by sections of the upper classes, and a tour of Europe, including France, was an integral part of a young gentleman's education.[17] Overall,English Franco-phobia operated on many levels. The upper classes associated with French culture but feared French geo-political hegemony in Europe. Their reactions to French policy were dominated by this fear. The

PLATE 3. Un petit Souper a la Parisienne: - or - A Family of Sans Culottes refreshing after the fatigues of the day B.M.C. 8122 (1794).

lower classes did not so much fear the French as ridicule them and they held the whole nation in cultural contempt. The French were un-English while thinking and feeling "like Britons" entailed opposition to France.[18] The manufacturing and merchant classes,while sharing some of this contempt,viewed the French mainly as rivals.

This unpopularity of the French did not prevent the initial stages of the French Revolution being received in England with almost universal acclaim. The press in the late 1780's united to praise French struggles for liberty while the government reacted with cautious neutrality.[19] Popular identification with the French stemmed partly from association with the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The French it was believed were becoming more English. Government response to the Revolution included a hope that the new internally occupied France would have little time for an expansionist European policy.

In 1792 the September massacres halted most English sympathy in its tracks. Pre-revolutionary norms of opinion were surpassed by a horrifying image of the terror in France drawn authentically from the actual scene of destruction.[20] (PLATE 3) Events in France reconfirmed English prejudices,and the average Englishman could feel comfortable in his loathing of France. An aggressive stance with regard to Holland and Belguim and the doctrine of"armed revolution" also alarmed the English government. A keystone of English continental diplomacy was the denial of the Channel ports to any one power. By 1793 conservative English reaction to France was based on a four-fold conception of rivalry, horror,contempt and fear.

Ideologically the revolution posed a threat to the established elites. It was always possible that English radicals would seek to implement French reforms. Traditional hostility to France combined with the recent atrocities could be used to discredit English and

French radicalism. Burke suggested something similar when he argued that, if the structure of British society was to remain the same, the revolutionary ideology had to be confronted at a popular level.[21] The response of the propertied classes was to support or promote Franco-phobia at all levels. The French were made whipping boys not only for English radicalism but also the security of the English upper classes.[22] The prints, although lacking the scope for sophisticated argument were an ideal medium to express the fear and hatred of nationally inspired Franco-phobia. They also portrayed the natural spontaneity of English rivalry and ridicule of the French.

Prints on the French from 1793-1814 fall into two broad categories, contrasts and confrontations. Under the heading of contrasts are those prints which compare English and French; social, cultural, political and religious characteristics. This comparison was usually based on feelings of ridicule and contempt. Also included are prints which show French traits alone, especially those that emphasise national differences. Atrocity prints depicting French horrors have also been included as contrasts. Under confrontations I have grouped those prints which depict the conflict between the allegorised nations of France and England. These may also be concerned with characteristics but the main theme is usually national rivalry and they are often inspired by hatred or fear. Both types of print are found throughout 1793-1814, but, while the contrast was more popular during the revolutionary war, the confrontation print had its hey-day in 1803.

Initially reaction to the war in the confrontation prints was in the same spirit of conventional French satires. The threat of invasion in the Declaration of Doumouriez was treated as a burlesque. Gillray produced Doumouriez dining in state at St James portraying

Doumouriez in the tattered finery of the fop.[23] He sits in the coronation chair receiving the advances of Fox and the opposition. A dish of frogs is served to him in the style of gastronomic chauvinism. The potential of the levee en masse went unrecognised but not unridiculed. It was treated with satirical disbelief in A Member of the French War Department raising Forces to Conquer all the World.[24]

Traditional attitudes towards the French were also present in the contrasts of 1793. As well as Rowlandson's Contrast two more propaganda-influenced prints appeared. I. Cruikshank's French Happiness / English Misery belies its ironical title and attacks French cultural characteristics while Reform Advised / Reform Begun / Reform Compleat (also by Rowlandson and subsidised by Crown and Anchor) depicts the demise of John Bull through the influence of French ideology.[25] In the second print the English constitution is highlighted as an important difference between the two nations. Cultural characteristics of the French are attacked in all three prints.

Gillray's England and France Contrasted of 1793 is also conventional in its attack on France and traditional images are used.[26] The print consists of two companion designs, the first of which depicts a rural England. Plenty and prosperity are indicated by a fruitful harvest while the country people imbibe tankards of frothing beer (the liquid equivalent of roast beef). In the distance, as a reminder of English naval or perhaps commercial superiority, are ships in full sail. The opposing French scene is urban rather than rural and atrocities are targeted. A family hangs from a lamp-bracket upon which sits a trouserless sans-culotte. Other horrors are depicted and French atheism is attacked even at the expense of

PLATE 4. A Peace Offering to the Genius of Liberty and Equality B.M.C. 8426 (1794).

supporting the Catholic clergy.

France's atheism had a profound effect on what was still an essentially religious society in England. Burke had argued that the struggle against France was a "religious war" a "new crusade", and as the conflict continued the church increasingly supported national patriotism.[27] Later Coleridge identified the enemy as

> . . . an impious foe,
> Impious and false, a light yet cruel race,
> Who laugh away all virtue, mingling mirth
> With deeds of murder; and still promising
> Freedom, themselves too sensual to be free . . . [28]

and association with "the owlet atheism" was for him one of their chief evils. This concern with religion is reflected in the prints. Five of the seven contrast prints of 1793 include a religious motif. This is highlighted in The Feast of Reason, or the Cloven-Foot Triumphant.[29] France is contrasted with "Happy England where a man may serve God without offending his neighbour and where Religion and Law secure real Peace and true liberty". The French are associated with the Devil, an image that was to be emphasised later, during the Napoleonic wars.

Atrocities, religion and the constitution are the contrasts of 1794. French laws and justice are seen as illusions in The Present State of France.[30] As a result life and property are insecure while France burns destroying religion, glory and honour. A Peace Offering to the Genius of Liberty and Equality (PLATE 4) contrasts English symbols, such as the crown, a Bible and a Bishops hat, which English radicals are offering to France, with an atrocious female whose characteristics are murder, rapine, famine and atheism.[31] The Democracy of France, too, is essentially a terror print connecting French atrocities with French Liberty.[32]

As French victories in Belguim and Holland brought the Channel

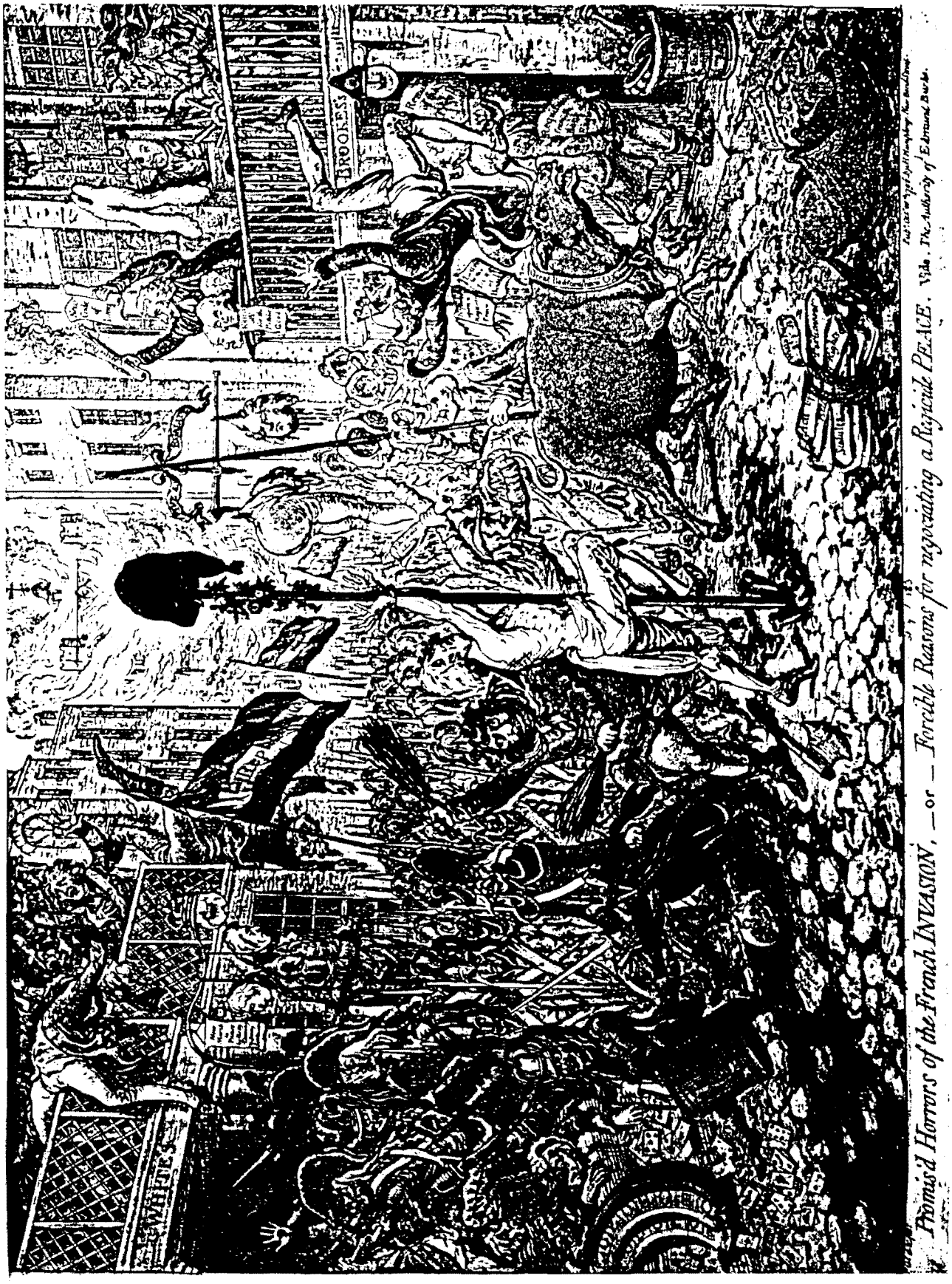


PLATE 5. Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion - or - Forcible Reasons for negociating a Regicide Peace B.M.C. 8826 (1796).

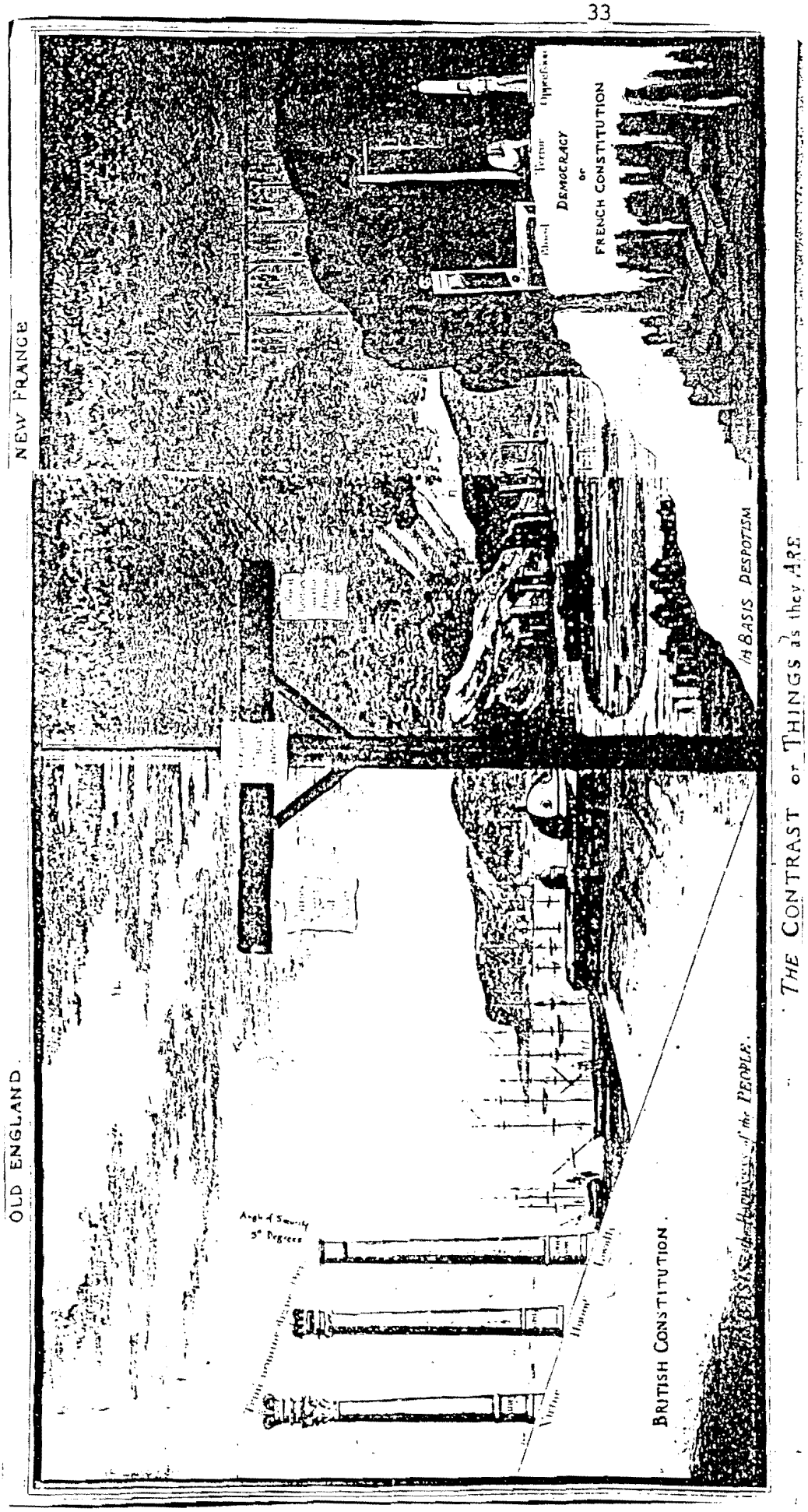


PLATE 6 The Contrast, or Things as they Are B.M.C. 8834 (1796).

ports under their control, the threat of invasion came one step nearer. A further step was taken with the capture of the Dutch fleet. Fear bred anger which was directed both internally, at the opposition and externally, at the French. In Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion - or - Forcible Reasons for negociating a Regicide Peace (PLATE 5) grotesque monkey like French soldiers march up St James committing various atrocities.[33] They are depicted as the blood thirsty monsters of 1792 while the pose of the officer suggests the vanity of the fop. In two contrasts of 1795 atrocities are emphasised. Although the central theme of The Blessings of Peace / The Curses of War is a contrast between peace and war, the atrocities of war are identified with the French.[34] As the impact of war began to produce a strain on the economy pro-peace attacks on war and dearth became popular. Newton's Spectacles for Republicans was against the general trend in contrasting English contentment under constitutional government with French misery under despotism and indicates the lack of a concerted anti-French propaganda campaign at this point.[35]

In 1796 The Contrast, or Things as they Are (PLATE 6) gives a comphrehensive comparison of the conditions of England and France.[36] The contrast is predominantly constitutional and commercial while atrocities, represented by a row of gibbets and a guillotine are once more condemned. The English constitution being based on "the Happiness of the People" leads to prosperity while French democracy based on despotism, terror and oppression leads to ruin. Like many other anti-French prints the status-quo in England is depicted as the obvious "good" alternative to the "evil" of revolutionary France.

In 1797 the possibility of invasion began to be taken seriously. Midas Transmuting All into Paper, predominantly a political satire

PLATE 7 Destruction of the French Collossus B.M.C. 9260 (1798).

on Pitt's printing of paper money depicts a French fleet setting sail from Brest.[37] Hordes of sans-culottes armed with daggers fill the French shore. The background threat in this subtle yet menancing print indicates, much more effectively than invasion burlesques, the potential climate of fear. Such fear was more noticeable at the height of the invasion scare in 1798. While Coleridge was almost hourly expecting invasion in Fears in Solitude, the output of invasion prints increased. Eight prints depict the threat of invasion, including the four completed works from Dalrymple's projected series. Dalrymple had hoped to incite a patriotic response to the French threat with a series of twenty prints entitled Consequences of A Successful French Invasion.[38] The four completed prints are typical of the 1793-1802 period in depicting contrasts in a confrontational setting. Their main theme is the depiction of French atrocities against the English people. Neither the governing classes in Lords or Commons nor, more importantly, the average Englishman in the countryside was seen to be safe. The church too was a target of French aggression while the French soldiers are again grotesque, vain and above all cruel. The failure of this grandiose scheme of prints to find a market is an eloquent testimony to public opinion. Years of anti-French prejudice had convinced the national psyche of the superiority of an Englishman. It was possible to laugh at the possibility of a French invasion in burlesques, but to take it seriously was unthinkable.[39]

The Englishman's sublime confidence in his own abilities became even more pronounced during late 1798 and early 1799 as the war turned temporarily against the French. English naval superiority had appeared to be confirmed at the battle of the Nile. An almost divine inevitability surrounds the Destruction of the French Colossus.[40] (PLATE 7) Britannia in the role of divine providence overthrows

PLATE 8 Fighting for the Dung Hill: - or - Jack Tar settling Buonaparte B.M.C. 9268 (1798).

a huge colossus which strides from France to Egypt,overshadowing Europe. This gigantic and monstrous creation is made up of, and surrounded by, symbols of French terror. A guillotine represents "fraternity" while atheism is indicated by "Religion de la Nature". The monster tramples on a Holy Bible. The print is not at all humorous and is part of a trend towards hate and loathing rather than ridicule and contempt.

This trend is reflected in a decreased number of contrast style prints. Only The Apotheosis of Hoche depicts French cultural characteristics in 1798,although the print is overtly military.[41] Atrocities are once more emphasised and poverty and slavery (the sabot), merciless cruelty and atheism are identified. French Liberty at the Close of the Eighteenth Century is depicted as non-existent in 1799,while Liberty, Equality, Fraternity are given negative connotations incontrast to English constitutional freedoms.[42] Fashion is revived as a contrast in a Gillray print of 1799 in which John Bull is forced into a tight jacket which gives him no "liberty" at all.[43]

Napoleon begins to appear in print at this time and in Fighting for the Dung Hill: - or - Jack Tar Settling Buonaparte (PLATE 8) he has taken on the traditional image of the French.[44] He is underfed and grotesque while the shirtless cuffs are reminiscent of the fop in the earlier fashion contrasts. A brawny Jack Tar deals roughly with him, thwarting his eastern ambitions. This print is a forerunner of the vast number of prints which use him as a cipher for France and oppose him in an allegorical representation of the conflict with a personification of England. It also looks backwards at the tradition of portraying the French with ridicule and contempt at a time when an increasing element of hate and hostility

A DIALOGUE between a BRITISH TAR and a FRENCH CITIZEN,

A LOYAL SKETCH, in VERSE.

SCENE—*A Street in London.*

Enter Jack Oakum (singing.)

MY friend Ben Bowsprit is a hearty fellow,
His grog methinks has made me somewhat mellow.
Ben's equal ne'er broke bread to drink or sing,
And then he's honest—for he loves his King.
Avast tho'—don't my peepers spy a sail?
He makes good way—he scuds before the gale;
Hither he steers—split me what have we here,
His colours speak him a French Privateer. *(Returns.)*

Enter French Citizen.

SONG.

From de grande Nation
Me come Liberte's son,
De English vid Freedom to cheat,
For tho' to all Europe
We've sounded de var-hoop,
De English ve never can beat.

First ve conquer de Dotch,
Dat labour not moch,
And den plunder our coffers enriches;
But like true Sans Culottes,
Tho' ve left dem deir coats,
Begar ve did seize all deir breeches.

Den Prussia disarm,
And Spain lay down deir arm,
Compell'd or by bribes or by fears;
De Pope his Tiara
No longer could carry,
And Paris get Switzerland's bears.

But tho' de Swiss Bête,
And Dutch Elephang great,
We have force de French shackles to try on;
Von Bête, vid disdain,
Views our impotent chain,
And dat is de damn'd English Lion.

Jack comes forward.

Avast here—what palaver's this?

Citizen.——————Ah—ah—Monsieur,
Je suis très humblement vôtre serviteur.

Jack.—Hold your French flang—what brought you here?

Citizen.——————Me come,
To teach de English freedom, from my home.

Jack.—You teach us freedom!—teach us to make ship,
To heave an anchor, or to steer a ship;
A lath like you—teach Britons to be free!
Damme—we learn it with our A. B. C.

Citizen.—But our great men do teach us sense profonde,
Dat all of us be equal dans le monde.

Jack.—All of us equal!—that won't do—no more!
No Boatswain's equal to a Commodore.
And then my well-rigg'd Sue, a saucy Doxy,
Says how that I an't equal to Will Coxy.

The ENGLISH SAILOR and FRENCH CITIZEN.

Citizen.—En France 'tis very differante; for sure
Dere be no rich——————

Jack.——————Oh no, because you're all damn'd poor

Citizen.—Monsieur, you make de grande mistake—ve hav
Dans le tems passée all been pauvre slave;
Mais tous les choses have been to change since
Dat all de French be each von little prince;
And den for Freedom—your Monsieur must grant
En France de Tree of Liberte ve plant.

Jack.—Your Tree of Liberty!—a pretty joke,
The Tree of Liberty—is British Oak.
High as a first-rate mast, its branches shoot,
Sound is its trunk—and firmly fix'd its root;
And when dread ills and foreign foes invade,
We'll find an harbour underneath its shade.

Citizen.—Dat harbour we'll destroy—for if our fleet
De English navy ever chance to meet,
As ve on land do gain de victoree,
De grande Nation shall beat you on de sea.

Jack.—Beat Britons, Monsieur!—sing another tune,
And trembling recollect the first of June,
And first of August!—each like grog inspires,
Methinks I hear the vessels thund'ring fires.
See Howe, resolved to conquer or to die,
From them to them with British ardour fly.
See gallant Nelson, with true courage warm,
As light'ning rapid—dreadful as the storm,
Break thro' the lines of your poor trembling slaves,
And sing in triumph—*Britons rule the waves!*

Citizen.—Yet still our Nation, and de tail unfurl'd,
Shall bind de cap of Freedom round de world.

Jack.—You venture round the world, Monsieur!
Why you've no pilot at the helm to steer;
Your craggy bark of state has too much tail,
And torn from anchor, drives before the gale;
Ours tight and trim, defies th' impending blast,
Secure in well built strength, will ever last:
Lords of the waves, to distant climes we'll rove,
Whilst our helm's guided—by the King we love.
Stand back then! *(Citizen retires)* if we must continue war,
Let my own mem'naries hear a Britith Tar.

(Comes forward.)

Let's cease disputes—and join with heart and hand
To bring their Mounseers, both by sea and land;
Shall freeborn souls, who've always rul'd the waves,
Be made to lower their flags, and strike to slaves?
No!—let's preserve our birth right, still be free,
And still maintain the empire of the sea.
Let's steer the course, where brave Sr. Vincent leads,
Where Duncan conquers, or where Nelson bleeds;
And like true Sailors—fight, drink, laugh, and sing,
True to our Rights—our Country—and our King.

London: Printed and Published by M. Jaha, No. Paternoster Row.
Of whom may be had, written and designed by C. M. Westcott,
A Parish Meeting on the subject of Inclosing—*John Bull* in three hats,
with the Speeches of the Parishioners, price 1s. 6d. with coloured plate, or in plain.
A Dialogue between *Mrs. Bull* and *Madame Blanchette*, farmer's wife, &c.
☞ Handsome Assortment to those who buy Quantities to give away.

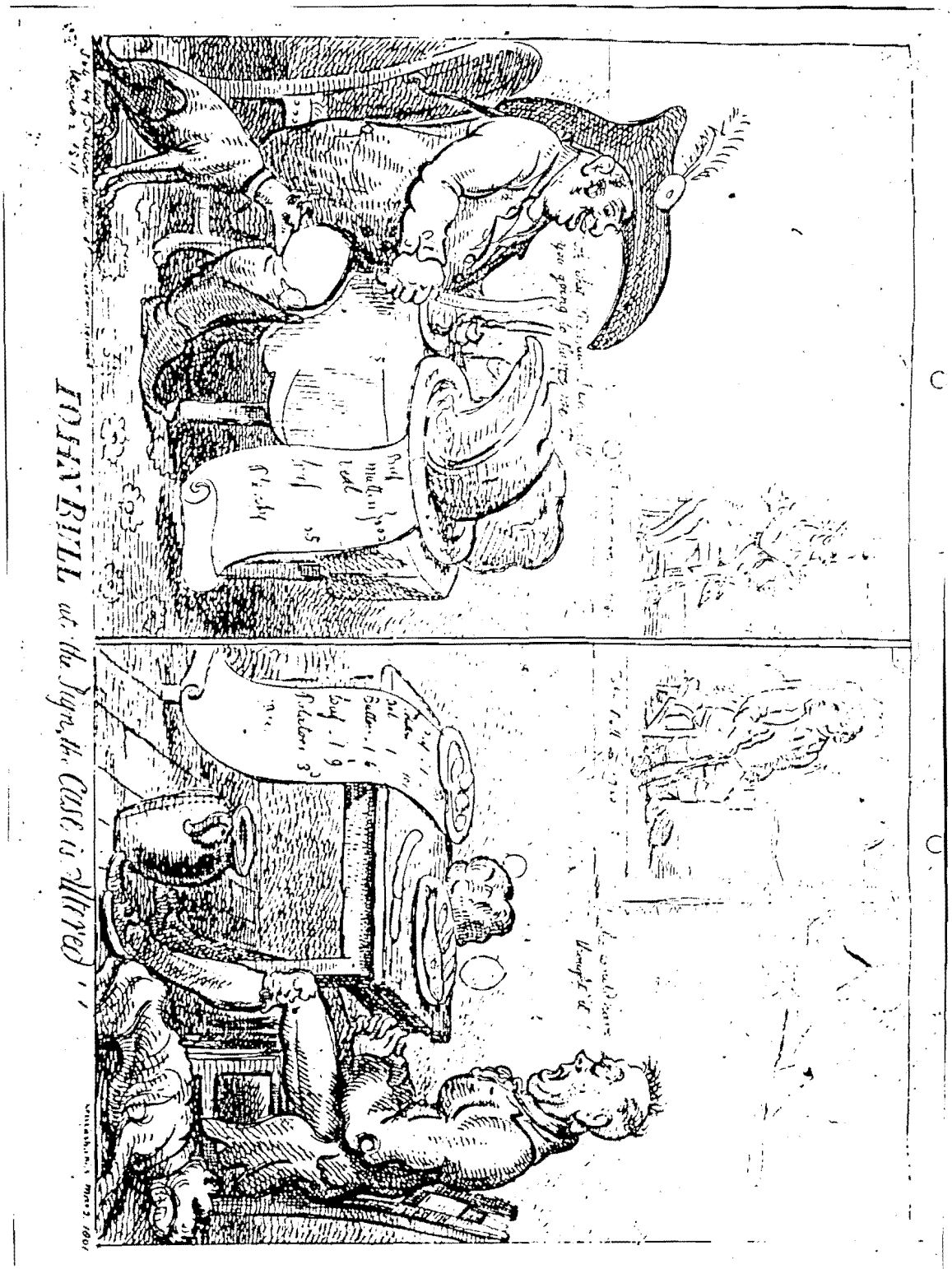


PLATE 10 John Bull at the Sign the Case is Altered B.M.C. 9714 (1801).

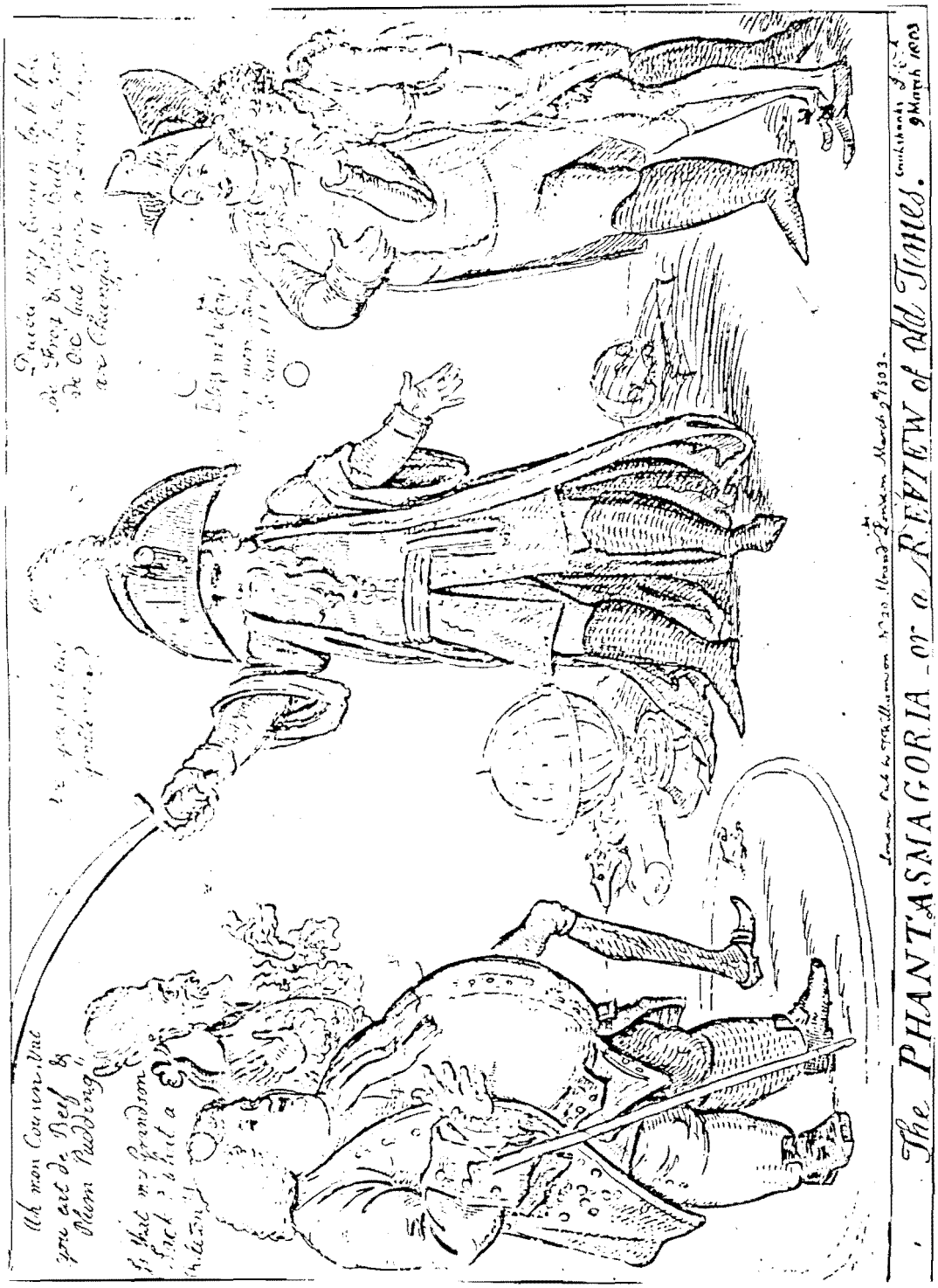


PLATE 11 The Phantasmagoria - or - Review of Old Times B.M.C. 9971 (1803).

was entering the caricatures.

In 1800 the strong patriotic element in the contrast print is once more demonstrated. Woodward's A Dialogue Between a British Tar and a French Citizen / A Loyal Sketch in Verse (PLATE 9) depicts a French fop of the old style, overdressed and with a ridiculously elongated tail to his wig.[45] As usual he is thin and undernourished in contrast to the sturdy tar. The dialogue contrasts political ideology and the French concept of equality is criticised. The fop praises it, arguing that it has got rid of the rich, but the British tar has the final say exclaiming, "You're all dam'd poor".

Not all contrasts favoured the English. The hardship of war and the shortages of food in 1800-1 produced the occasional bitter self-examination. Traditional gastronomic chauvinism is reversed in John Bull at the Sign the Case is Altered (PLATE 10) and The Phantasmagoria - or - a Review of Old Times.[46] (PLATE 11) Well-fed and prosperous Frenchmen are contrasted with puny Englishmen. These two prints suggest an underlying dissatisfaction with the condition of England and hint at a self-conscious recognition of previous propaganda. However Frenchness is not praised and the French are regarded jealously for their attainment of traditionally English good fortune. The prints suggest a atmosphere of good-natured and typically xenophobic grumbling. Dissatisfaction with conditions in England produced a potentially more dangerous contrast in The Rival Accoucheurs or who shall Deliver Europe of 1800.[47] A magnificent and scarcely caricatured Napoleon is praised in comparison to a puny Pitt. The respective military prowess of each is contrasted. Napoleon's open and direct use of force is seen as better than Pitt's devious and perhaps cowardly use of subsidies. The rareity of these pro-French prints emphasises the extent of Franco-phobia in general.

THE GOVERNOR OF EUROPE, Stoped in HIS CAREER.

PLATE 12 The Governor of Europe Stopped in His Career B.M.C. 9980 (1803).

English perceptions of innate superiority were largely consolidated even when the French were in a far from inferior position in military, diplomatic or economic terms.

In response to the Napoleonic invasion threat many of the prints of 1803 are straight propaganda with a strong nationalistic view. They are calculated to give an impression of the stoutness of English resistance. National rivalry is the main theme and the majority contrast the fighting abilities of John Bull and Napoleon in a confrontatioinal setting.[48] The Governor of Europe Stopped in His Career (PLATE 12) is a typical conflict allegory.[49] A giant Napoleon strides across a map of Europe but is halted by a small defiant John Bull. In many prints Napoleon's size is not exaggerated but reduced in order to make him seem self-deceiving and vainglorious. The threat of invasion is reduced, along with Napoleon's size to insignificance in John Bull teazed by an Ear-Wig.[50] Napoleon now supersedes all other symbols as a personification of France while the main theme is conflict and hostility.

An understanding of how much Napoleon symbolises the French and how much he symbolises Napoleon is crucial to an understanding of English perceptions of the French from 1803-1814. Initial reactions to Napoleon had been mixed, some prints admired his military genius and political leadership and hoped this would lead to a more humane government in France.[51] Others saw him, like Louis XIV, as the epitomy of French atrocities and autocratic power.[52] During the latter part of 1803 a smear campaign was directed against any tendencies to see Bonaparte as a hero. This led to an increasing jingoism in the prints. The variety of traditional contrasts were reduced to a few anti-French cliches and images. Perceptions of the French harden to symbols of atrocity, self-aggrandisement and vainglory,while these symbols

lose some of their humour. Napoleon is seen as untrustworthy, (a legacy of Amiens) deceitful and ambitious.

In Bonaparte snatching at the British Crown his ambition is identified.[53] His career and fate seem to echo that of Carathis in William Beckford's Vathek and associates him with the Devil.[54] A strong polarisation of religious contrasts pervades the prints of 1803. One of the most effective ideas of the smear campaign identifies Napoleon as the Devil's agent on earth.[55] This theme was built upon French atheism. As a contrast to the ungodly French the English could see themselves as God's chosen people while a change in religious thinking had made a qualified nationalism compatible with Christian values.[56] The conflict was increasingly depicted as a struggle between good and evil. An example of such polarity is a print of 1803 in which John Bull and Napoleon are weighed in the scales of justice.[57] Napoleon surrounded by "Disgrace, Cruelty, Murder, Rapine, Plunder, Hypocricy and Albivion (sic)" descends into Hell while John representing "Intergrity, Honor, Justice, Valour, Commerce, Firmness, Trade, Heroism and Virtue" soars up (possibly towards heaven). Devilish characteristics of "Malice, Revenge, Avarice and Cruelty" are combined with traditional French vices of "Pride, Craft, Falsehood and Blasphemy" in The Corsican Conjurer Raising the Plagues of Europe.[58] Napoleon as the conjurer appears as an evil magician.

Ridicule as a conventional weapon against threat or fear also played its part in the opposition to Napoleon. Napoleon is closely identified with France through traditional channels of ridicule. He is frequently associated with fickleness and vainglory by use of the monkey symbol.[59] Napoleon's dress particularly his extravagantly plumed hat, boots and sword were often exaggerated in the style of

PLATE 13 Maniac Raving's - or - Little Bonny in a strong Fit B.M.C. 9998 (1803).

the fop symbolising pretension, deceit and self-aggrandisement. Gillray's Maniac - Ravings - or - Little Boney in a Strong Fit (PLATE 13) brilliantly combines traditional motifs with modern perceptions.[60] Boney's grotesque features and actions indicate the monkey or the posturing fop. His small size is a reminder of gastronomic chauvinism. The print burlesques an actual incident and conforms with expectations of Napoleons behaviour with regard to his ambition and lack of self-control. The image of "little Boney" proved popular; it became a model for Napoleonic caricature.

The Arms of France (PLATE 14) sum up English perceptions of France in 1803.[61] In the centre oval a guillotine dripping blood is "The Sun of the French Constitution". It is supported by a monkey representing "Atheism" and a Tiger symbolising "Desolation". Bonaparte's atrocities are depicted above, and below are the victims of the guillotine. The print stresses continuity in atheism and atrocity from revolutionary to Napoleonic France. Political ideology is ironically contrasted, The "Sun of the Constitution" being a powerful positive image of English virtues, liberties and freedoms. The traditional monkey is now joined by the rapacious blood thirsty tiger.

After 1803 there was a dramatic drop in the number of prints on the French. Conflict, hostility and atrocity had been the cartoonists "sensation" in 1803 and now they turned to newer themes. As time went by and the French fleet failed to come invasion seemed less and less likely. In 1804 most conflict prints pander to the buoyant English morale. Possibly the nation was convinced of its superiority but it occasionally liked to be reminded of the fact. In The Coffin Expedition or Boney's Invincible Armada Half Seas over the impossibility of invasion without command of the sea is stressed.[62] A French Alarmist - or - John Bull looking out for the Grand

The ARMS of FRANCE.

PLATE 14 The Arms of France B.M.C. 10090 (1803).

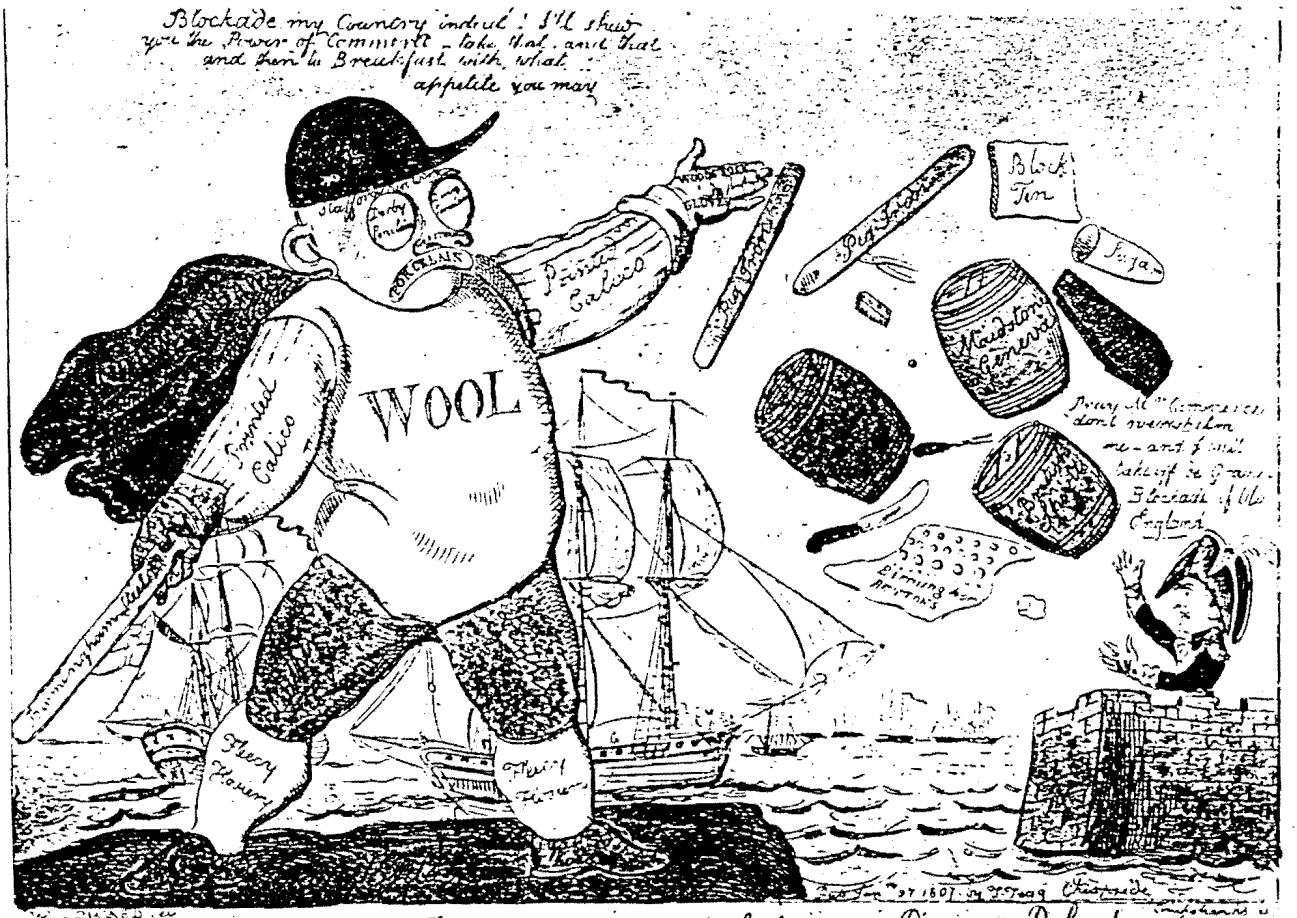


PLATE 15 The Giant Commerce overwhelming the Pygmy Blockade B.M.C. 10699 (1807).

PLATE 16 The English Lambxxx - and - The French Tiger B.M.C. 10533 (1806).

Flottilla also ridicules invasion.[63] A lean and ragged Frenchman boasts of the magnificence of the French fleet to a stout John Bull who after scanning an empty sea replies simply "Mounseer - all this I cannot see - because tis not in sight". Again the Frenchman is a traditional sterotype and his behaviour is conditioned by expected norms.

In 1804 Napoleon's association with the Devil continues in An Hieroglyphic, Describing the State of Great Britain and the continent of Europe.[64] Napoleon as the Beast of Revelations has two horns, one supporting an imperial crown and the other a papal tiara. The revived spectres of universal Monarchy and universal Catholicism are contrasted with a contented Britain. Atrocities continue to be depicted as in French alias Corsican Villainy or the Contrast to English Humanity which portrays Napoleonic and English attitudes towards the treatment of prisoners in Egypt.[65] Cultural contrasts based on contempt or ridicule are now less frequent, although gastronomic chauvinism is revived in two prints.[66]

During 1805 it became clear that England's confidence in her "wooden walls" had not been misplaced. The battle of Trafalgar reduced fears of invasion, but by 1806 this threat had been replaced by the commercial rivalry of the blockade. Initially, like the first invasion scare, the blockade was treated with derision. The Giant Commerce overwhelming the Pygmy Blockade (PLATE 15) contrasts the strength of English trade with that of France.[67] The commercial conflict prompted an occasional print in the roast beef style of old.[68] Gastronomic comparisions were further revived by the publicity surrounding Daniel Lambert. In The English Lambxxx - and - The French Tiger (PLATE 16) Lambert feeds on a gigantic haunch of roast beef while a thin and wimpish Napoleon sups intently on soupe-meagre.[69] The belief

NAPOLEON

THE FIRST, and LAST, by the Wrath of Heaven Emperor of the Jacobins, Protector of the Confederation of Rogues, Mediator of the Hellish League, Grand Cross of the Legion of Horror, Commander in Chief of the Legions of Skeletons left at Moscow, Smolensk, Leipzig, &c. Head Runner of Runaways, Mock High-Priest of the Sanhedrim, Mock Prophet of Mussulmen, Mock Pillar of the Christian Faith, Inventor of the Syrian Method of disposing of his own Sick by sleeping Draughts, or of captured Enemies by the Bayonet; First Grave-Digger for burying alive; Chief Gaoler of the Holy Father and of the King of Spain, Destroyer of Crowns, and Manufacturer of Counts, Dukes, Princes, and Kings; Chief Douanier of the Continental System, Head Butcher of the Parisian and Toulonese Massacres, Murderer of Hoffer, Palm, Wright, nay, of his own Prince, the noble and virtuous Duke of Enghien, and of a thousand others; Kidnapper of Ambassadors, High-Admiral of the Invasion Praams, Cup-Bearer of the Jaffa Poison, Arch-Chancellor of Waste-Paper Treaties, Arch-Treasurer of the Plunder of the World, the sanguinary Coxcomb, Assassin, and Incendiary.....to

MAKE PEACE WITH!!!

This Hieroglyphic Portrait of the DESTROYER is faithfully copied from a German Print, with the Parody of his assumed Titles. The *Hat* of the Destroyer represents a discomfited French Eagle, maimed and crouching, after his Conflict with the Eagles of the North. His *Visage* is composed of the Carcases of the Victims of his Folly and Ambition, who perished on the Plains of Russia and Saxony. His Throat is encircled with the *Red Sea*, in Allusion to his drowned Hosts. His Epaulette is a *Hand*, leading the Rhenish Confederation, under the flimsy Symbol of a *Cobweb*. The *Spider* is an Emblem of the Vigilance of the Allies, who have inflicted on that Hand a deadly Sting!

PUBLISHED AT R. ACKERMANN'S, 101, STRAND, LONDON.

Harrison & Leigh, Printers, 373, Strand

PLATE 17. Napoleon (After Voltz) B.M.C. 12202 (1814).

in the superior diet and strength of the Englishman is also found in The British Light Horseman.[70] The light horseman is Lambert on the huge horse "tiny". He startles Napoleon who laments that his cavalry is not quite up to this standard.

From 1807-13 very few contrast prints appear and those that do are on the same worn out themes. Fear of French invasion was now almost non-existent. Occupation with international rivalry was saturated and the cartoonists turned to internal themes such as ministerial abuses, royal scandals and Burdettite radicalism. External themes are in a new mode. During 1813 the prints on France concentrate on Napoleon's Russian defeats. These prints do not depict contrasts or confrontations but are unusually anecdotal and depict specific incidents or battles. The occasional atrocities print was still produced during 1807-13 as in Bony's Visions or a Great Little Man's Night Comforts of 1811.[71] The tendency to portray the conflict and the French in the most basic imagery continued; the French were again monkeys or bantams.[72] Even the prospect of victory failed to whet the appetite for contrasts among the cartoonists' jaded palates.

Actual victory, though, did prove a stimulant. In 1814 there was a revival of interest in atrocity prints. About 23% of the total number of atrocity prints occur during the year. Napoleon is to some extent disassociated with France as in The Double Humbug or the Devil's Imp Praying for Peace.[73] Napoleon, associated with the Devil,is the principal villan while mention is made of "brave but deluded Frenchmen". One of the most popular visual images was a copy of a German design depicting a head of Napoleon cleverly contrived from corpses.[74] (PLATE 17) It was copied as part of national self-congratulation as Napoleon Bonaparte as Overcome by Marquis Wellington and the Allies and then twice more under different titles.[75] After

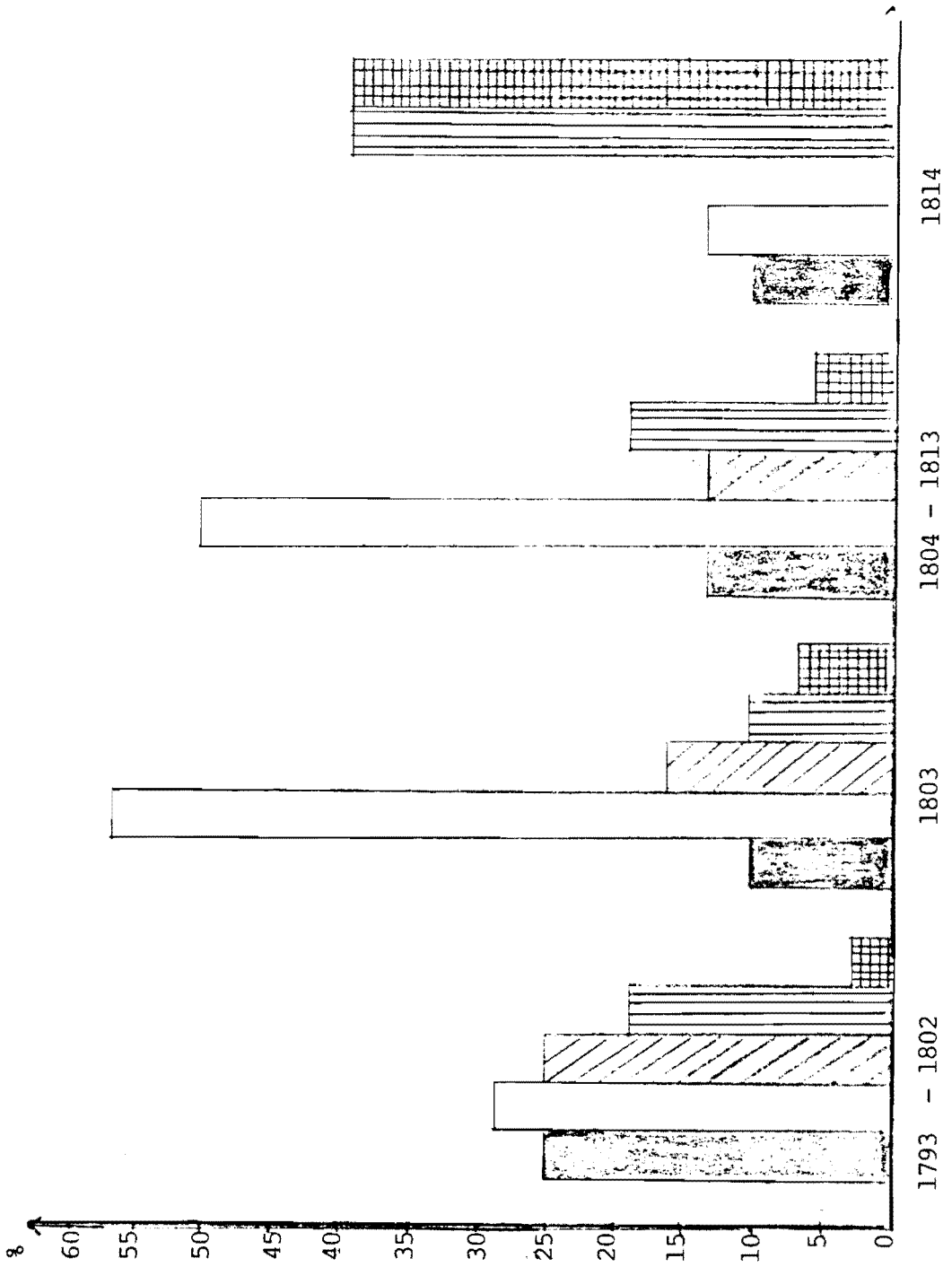
PLATE 18. The Genius of France Expounding Her Laws to the Sublime People B.M.C. 12524 (1815).

Elba the main theme is Napoleon getting his just desserts and he is frequently associated with the Devil.[76] The element of ridicule continued to increase as English cartoonists crowed over Napoleon's defeat and banishment.[77] However English joy at getting rid of Napoleon did not extend to welcoming the Bourbons and the year ends in a reassertion of general Franco-phobia.[78] English exasperation at French characteristics is excellently summed up in a print of 1815, The Genius of France Expounding Her Laws to the Sublime People.[79] (PLATE 18).

In English views on the French we see a negative expression of Englishness. Throughout the period there were constant criticisms of French religion, for being ungodly, French atrocities, for being unnatural, French government, for being unfair and the French in general for being un-English. Among the characteristics most commonly attributed to the French were; vanity, athesim; fickleness, deceit, poverty and cruelty. From this it is possible to argue that the English believed themselves to be humble, pious, constant, honest, well-off and humane. However the contrast was not necessarily so simple. Some comparisons were drawn from observation while others were the result of imagination, exaggeration or propaganda. Under the impact of war change occurs in the frequency and priority of different contrasts. At different times they served different purposes and gave different impressions of English nationalism.

During the first part of the war, from1793-1802,when the threat to England was as much ideological as military,the motives of the contrast are about equally divided between rivalry, ridicule and fear (see graph 1.) Ridicule is mainly used for contrasts of culture,seeing the French in the mould of the Eighteenth century. Rivalry and fear at this stage are also expressed through cultural

Graph 1. Rivalry, ridicule hate and fear: a breakdown of contrasts and conflicts



KEY:

- Ridicule; contrast of culture and character.
- Rivaly; allegorical conflicts.
- Fear; Invasion satires.
- Hate; atrocity prints.
- Hate; religious polarisation and associations with the Devil.

contrasts or confrontations. A large number of characteristics are attributed to the French of which cruelty, deceit, and vainglory become prominent. In seeking to discredit the French many "propaganda" prints emphasise characteristics that were seen as wholly French, and comparisons of manners which would also discredit the English upper classes were frequently avoided. French atrocities are common during 1793-4, a legacy of events in France and they establish themselves as the major new contrast of the war. Religion continues to be an important topic and from 1793-1802 concentrates on specific differences. The contrast between the English and French systems of government is also important in this early period. Criticisms of French despotism and misery under "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" helped bolster the positive image of the English constitution. This was an important rallying cry for the English establishment and appealed to most sections on English society.

In 1803 a deliberate effort to discredit Napoleonic France produces a change in emphasis in the contrast prints. Fear and hostility to the Napoleonic regime amongst the governing classes are transformed in the prints to expressions of ridicule and loathing. Cultural contrasts are rigidified into the symbol of the monkey expressing vainglory while Napoleon assumes the characteristics of the French of which cruelty expressed through atrocities is the chief. Contrasts of government remain but centre on Napoleonic despotism rather than constitutional theory. Religious contrasts are now depicted in abstract as a polarisation between good and evil, Napoleonic evil being represented by the Devil. Confrontations outnumber contrasts, and, although implying English superiority, they do not usually make specific contrasts, although an echo of gastronomic chauvinism remains in the juxtaposition of the brawny John Bull and the

insignificant "little Boney". The figure of "little Boney" becomes one of ridicule with his over large hat and boots. This image associates him with the fop of pre-revolutionary caricature while the characteristics of the fop, vainglory, posturing and deceit are transfered. Napoleonic atrocities are emphasised although no English contrast is suggested. The prints of this year are divided in those expressing hatred and those expressing ridicule. Both emotions derived from a mixture of fear and contempt. About 33% of all contrasts or confrontations occur during 1803.

The trend of 1803 continues into 1804 though on a lesser scale and numbers drop dramatically after that. From 1805-1813 contrasts are very infrequent although a trickle of confrontation prints occur. After the saturation of 1803 English audiences and cartoonists lost interest in the French and contrasts went out of fashion. A harder more skeletal image of France exists shorn of the variety of cultural contrasts. The grim bloodstained vision of the atrocious monkey race, vain,proud and cruel,overshadows the relative wasteland of contrasts during these years.

This singleminded approach continued into 1814. Confrontation prints are surprisingly small in number and so are cultural contrasts. Images of hate and the Devil abound (graph 1). Atrocities out number any other theme as Napoleon is vilified in a spirit of revenge and spite. Relief at the end of the conflict is expressed in this fashion as the cartoonists fail to resist the temptation to gloat at Napoleon's fall. Ridicule remains a potent force in the attack on Napoleon. By the end of the year there is some evidence of a return to traditional satire as the Bourbon Monarchy is attacked.

If xenophobia is the taproot of nationalism then changing impressions of the French from 1793-1814 had an impact on English

nationalism. Alongside the traditional contrasts of culture, society, religion and politics, there arose a new hard image of the bloodstained cruelty of the monkey race. Where before 1793 contrasts with France were predominantly of ridicule and contempt and sprung from an inward-looking superiority of Englishness, by 1814 they could also be external and aggressive. All classes in England had felt the hardship of war with a hated enemy and pre-war images of the French were now supplemented by symbols of loathing and fear. While ridicule and contempt made an Englishman look inwards at his own society, fear and loathing supported a nationalism that looked outwards to destroy the enemy. Lower class hatred could now identify with the political fears of the governing classes. The way was opened for a national foreign policy supported by symbols and expressions of Englishness.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. B.M.C. 8284.

2. Mary Dorothy George, English Political Caricature 1793-1832 (Oxford, 1959) p 1.

3. An exhaustive account of the Anglo-French rivalry is found in Jeremy Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies. Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1986), for a briefer summary see Micheal Duffy, "The noisie, empty, fluttring French 1689-1815" History Today vol 32 (September, 1982) pp 21-2.

4. Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies pp 167-70; Duffy, "The noisie, empty, fluttring French" p 22.

5. Especially during the debate for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts during 1806-7. For an account of anti-Catholicism in the Gordon Riots see Derek Jarrett, England in the Age of Hogarth (New Haven, 1986) pp 55-7.

6. Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 185; Duffy, "The noisie, empty, fluttring French" p 21.

7. Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 134.

8. Herbet McDonald Artherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth (Oxford, 1974) pp 85-6.

9. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 101-5.

10. Quoted in Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 86.

11. John Arbuthnot, The History of John Bull (Oxford, 1976)

12. Duffy, "The noisie, empty, fluttring French" p 24.

13. Duffy, "The noisie, empty, fluttring French" p 23.

14. The Gate of Calais B.M.C. 3050 (1749) was also reissued in 1797 and 1807, Duffy "The noisie, empty, fluttring French", p 23. For a fuller commentry on the print see Jarrett, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 21-2.

15. Gastronomic Chauvinism is considered by Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 184 also in Micheal Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner (Cambridge, 1986) p 35.

16. Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner p 36.

17. Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 171-184.

18. Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 181-2 considers the extremity of Anti-French loathing.

19. For the governments reaction see P. Langford, The Eighteenth Century 1688-1815 (London, 1976) p 206-7. Response in the press is covered by Black, Natural and Necessary Enemies p 197.

20. The September Massacres made a particularly bloody impression in B.M.C. 8122 and other prints, this reversion of opinion is covered in J. R. Jones, Britain and the World 1649-1815 (Brighton, 1980) p 260.

21. In Robert Hole, "British counter revolutionary propaganda in the 1790's" in Colin Jones ed, Britain and Revolutionary France: Conflict Subversion and Propaganda (Exeter, 1983) p 53.

22. The possibility that the English aristocracy diverted internal discontent outwards against the French is considered by Linda Colley in "whose nation? class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830" Past and Present no 113 (November, 1986). Gerald Newman, "Anti-French propaganda and British liberal nationalism in the early nineteenth century: suggestions towards a general interpretation"

Victorian Studiies vol 18 (1978) p 385 is along similar lines. However it seems unlikely that this "diversion" was a deliberate propaganda campaign.

23. B.M.C. 8318, for other early invasion burlesques see B.M.C. 8432, 8473, 8459.

24. B.M.C. 8345.

25. B.M.C. 8288, 8289.

26. B.M.C. 8301.

27. Burke "Remarks on the Policy of the Allies" (begun Oct 1793) Works III p 442, "Letters on a Regicide Peace" (1796) Works V p 234. Quoted in Conor Cruise O"Brien ed, Burke: Reflections on the Revolution in France (Middlesex, 1969) p 61. For the Church's resolution of Christianity and nationalism see William Stafford, "Religion and the doctrine of nationalism in England at the time of the French-Revolutionary Napoleonic wars" in S. Mews ed, Religion and National Identity (Oxford, 1982) pp 382-395.

28. Samuel Taylor Coleridge Fears in Solitude (1798).

29. B.M.C. 8350, for other religious motifs see B.M.C. 8284, 8300, 8301, 8334.

30. B.M.C. 8444.

31. B.M.C. 8426.

32. B.M.C. 8446.

33. B.M.C. 8826 see also on a similar subject B.M.C. 8838. both produced (1796).

34. B.M.C. 8609.

35. B.M.C. 8695.

36. B.M.C. 8834.

37. B.M.C. 8995.

38. Only four were published, B.M.C. 9180, 9181, 9182, 9183. For the fate of the scheme see B.M.C. under the above numbers.

39. Four prints of 1798 typically scoff at invasion, B.M.C. 9160, 9167, 9172, 9176.

40. B.M.C. 9260, (1798).

41. B.M.C. 9156.

42. B.M.C. 9433 and 9405.

43. B.M.C. 9425.

44. B.M.C. 9268.

45. B.M.C. 8834.

46. B.M.C. 9714, (1801) and 9971, (1803).

47. B.M.C. 9544.

48. Over forty prints depict John Bull as the antagonist of Napoleon in 1803, for a selection see above notes to chapter five p 173 no 50, 60, 61, 62.

49. B.M.C. 9980.

50. B.M.C. 9976.

51. See B.M.C. 9733, 9737, 9738, (1801); 9864, (1802).

52. B.M.C. 9534, (1800); 9890, 9891,, (1802).

53. B.M.C. 10061, (1803).

54. William Beckford, Vathek (Oxford, 1983) pp 118-9. Vathek was enthusiastically reviewed in 1786-7. The parrallels between the print and the fate of Carathis are striking, both Napoleon and Carathis are attempting to dethrone an established Monarch and both are borne away in a "rapid whirl", the result of their earthly evils.

55. Napoleon is associated with the devil in nine prints of 1803, B.M.C. 10070, 10083, 10085, 10090, 10099, 10107, 10108, 10111, 10137.

56. Stafford "Religion" pp 384-5.

57. B.M.C. 10137.
58. B.M.C. 10083.
59. For Napoleon as a monkey see B.M.C. 10015, 10018, 10077, 10089, 10090, 10105, (1803). He is also occasionally a cock, B.M.C. 10035, 10093, (1803).
60. B.M.C. 9998.
61. B.M.C. 10090.
62. B.M.C. 10222.
63. B.M.C. 10231.
64, B.M.C. 10220. For other associations with the devil see B.M.C. 10223, 10286, 10267, (1804).
65. B.M.C. 10224. For other Napoleonic atrocities see B.M.C. 10247, 10251, 10279, 10284, 10286, (1804).
66. B.M.C. 10274, 10275.
67. B.M.C. 10699, (1807).
68. B.M.C. 10773, (1807).
69. B.M.C. 10533, (1806) see also B.M.C. 10552, 10597, (1806).
70. B.M.C. 10570, (1806).
71. B.M.C. 11736 see also for atrocities from 1807-13 B.M.C. 10698, (1807) 11328, (1809) 12045, 12046, (1813).
72. B.M.C. 11896, 11902, (1812).
73. B.M.C. 12169.
74. B.M.C. 12169.
75. 12186, 12203, 12204.
76. Napoleon gets his just desserts in B.M.C. 12190, 12196, 12213. He is associated with the devil in several prints see for a selection B.M.C. 12253, 12260, 12261.
77. For a selection see B.M.C. 12232, 12252, 12261, 12286.
78. B.M.C. 12271 see also B.M.C. 12266.
79. B.M.C. 12524, (1815).

PLATE 19. St George and the Dragon (detail) B.M.C. 10424 (1805).

CHAPTER THREE

FOR KING AND COUNTRY

Linda Colley has claimed that:

> . . . the wartime context . . . . allowed the King to be celebrated not only for his royalty but also because his uniquely long reign had become the prime symbol of Britain's national identity and, in European terms, her singular success in resisting French domination.[1]

As head of the country he was the chief beneficiary of state-sponsored nationalism in Britain. This position is encapsulated in a print of 1805 in which George III is depicted as his namesake St George. (PLATE 19).[2] He slays a dragon with the head of Napoleon which has overcome a fallen Britannia. The print is an allegory of the Anglo-French conflict, while George III is a cipher for the patriotic element in British nationalistic opposition to Napoleon. George fills the role of protector or saviour of Britain.

George's position as head of the country had not always led naturally to his acceptance as a patriot. His ascession amidst a blaze of popularity in 1760 was soon overshadowed by personal and constitutional crises. The dismissal of the elder Pitt, combined with the supposed dominance of Lord Bute and the failure of the American war, devalued the public prestige of the Monarch. Before 1789 prints on the King were predominantly negative while the patriot stance was increasingly the domain of the radical opposition.[3] George's prolonged illness and recovery in 1788-9 evoked a more favourable attitude towards the Monarch. As he became less politically active his public and symbolic role could be stressed.

In response to the ideological and military threat posed by France the British government focussed the counter-forces of patriotism

and nationalism on the person of the Monarch. The loyalist movement of 1792-4 stands as a good example of this phenomenon.[4] Although loyalist societies were not overtly government-sponsored their leaders were often local officials. Almost from their beginnings such societies achieved widespread popularity. Initially the focus of their particular brand of patriotic nationalism (based on an appeal to emotion rather than logic) was the King. This soon widened to include constitution, and finally country, and strengthened the Monarch's association with the nation.

After the execution of Louis XVI in 1793 the position of the Monarch was further consolidated. The ideological conflict between French and British liberty led naturally to a concentration on the differences between the two states. The role of the King was the most obvious and easily grasped contrast. This role was twofold. Firstly, the King was seen within the frame work of the constitution as head of the executive, but he also existed above the law as a symbol of British liberties and the epitomy of British honour and tradition. In British patriotic displays national achievement was identified with the glorification of the Monarch.[5]

The popularity of these displays was helped by a decline in traditional and civic ritual. From 1660 a national culture built on patriotism and party conflict had been replacing local and traditional ritual.[6] Such national ceremonies drew on the theatrical base of earlier ritual. The King's birthday was celebrated with bell ringing, bonfires, ale-drinking, feasts and processions. Even these attractions could not guarantee a good turnout; in Bristol royal and military ceremonies often failed to draw crowds.[7] George III's birthday did not attract good crowds until the late 1790s, while fine weather promoted an exceptionally large crowd for

celebration in 1804.[8] Overall, royal and patriotic assemblies increased during the early war period but declined as the war dragged on.[9]

In the prints the Monarch first appears in a positive role in 1793 and this co-incided with the first invasion scare. The French Invasion; - or - John Bull Bombarding the Bumboats, while rather contemptously dismissing the invasion threat, depicts George III as Britain's deliverer.[10] George is portrayed as John Bull (the symbol of the common people), and this connection can be traced to the popularity of George's simple tastes. He is occasionally "farmer George" or John Bull in the prints, images that associate him with the British people as a whole as well as indicating his paternalistic role. The combination of simplicity in private and ostentation in public appealed to a wide audience, both borgeois and working class.[11] In defeating the French George III represents both the British nation and also the Monarchy. This duality of image corresponds to the Monarch's symbolic and personal role in the nation.

After appearing in a "saviour" role in 1793 this image is not repeated until 1801. From 1793-9 the total number of prints on the Monarch was small and less than a third feature the King in a positive light. This indicates that in the prints at least, George III had not achieved the widespread popularity that went with national glorification. National indignation over Napoleon's gifting of the British-held Malta to Tsar Paul is worked through the use of the Monarch in I. Cruikshanks', The Russian Bruiser Getting his Dose - with his Seconds, Thirds, Bottle Holder etc coming in for their Share.[12] George III stripped to the waist represents a bruiser; he defeats Russia in the person of Tsar Paul who has one eye blacked with the inscription "Malta". Like the print of 1793, George is

popularised by the image of the fighter, a peculiarly British occupation. He represents Britain and echoes British opinion on the retention of Malta.

During the peace of 1802 only two prints on George III appear. These are superficially similar in that they both contrast the King and Napoleon in an allegory for Britain and France. Both prints are by Williams and in the first, A Game of Chess, Napoleon defeats George III, reflecting British failures in the peace negotiations.[13] The second, Cross Examination, shows the King in a more favourable light.[14] As guardian of Britain he sharply questions Napoleon on the dubious French naval expedition to the West Indies. The difference between the two prints lies not only in the fact that the King is worsted in the first and in command in the second but also that the second print emphasises his role as protector of the nation rather than as a symbol for the nation.

With the resumption of hostilities in 1803 there was a dramatic rise in the number of prints depicting the Monarchy in a positive or partially positive light. France in the prints was now represented almost entirely by Napoleon, and the caricaturists sought for a similar symbol for Britain. Three main symbols were opposed to Napoleon. These were John Bull, Britannia and George III. With the use of such symbols the cartoonists simplified national characteristics into an easily identified image. Unlike John Bull and Britannia the use of George III required the cartoonists to super-impose the symbol onto the personal image of the King.

Fifteen prints on George III in 1803 are favourable and many portray the Monarch in the "protector" role. With the Army of England encamped across the Channel, the British percieved themselves in a very real peril. This is reflected in the morale-boosting prints

— *The KING of BROBDINGNAG, and GULLIVER.*

—Vide *Swift's Gulliver* Voyage to Brobdingnag.

PLATE 20. The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver B.M.C. 10019 (1803).

on George III most of which were blatantly nationalistic. The prints on the Monarch in this year are of two main types. The most patriotic are the "protector" prints in which George III confronts and defeats Napoleon. In the second type the King confronts and observes Napoleon but does not defeat him (although the superiority of the King is usually implied). The dual role of the King is demonstrated in The Corsican Moth by Woodward.[15] Napoleon, as a moth, flies towards a candle decorated with the royal crown. This represents Napoleon's ambition with regard to the British nation. The head and shoulders of George III appear and assumes his "protector" role exclaiming; "thou little contemptible insect. I shall see thee consumed by and by." The Monarchy both symbolizes and protects the Nation.

It was Gillray who introduced the most popular royal image of the year in The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver.[16](PLATE 20) This print ran to several issues and many imitations. Its circulation was such that it was shown to the King who could only exclaim at its pictorial inaccuracy.[17] The print portrays George III in Windsor uniform examining through a scrying glass a tiny Napoleon. Although the King does not directly confront Napoleon the difference in size implies the superiority of the King. The King's assumption of superiority over the upstart Napoleonic regime had behind it all the weight of tradition. This reminder of past British prestige and history must have been a useful boost to morale.

In the remaining prints of 1803 George III directly opposes Napoleon in the style of 1793 and 1801.[18] In The Save-all and the Extinguisher! (PLATE 21) the King holds a huge cone snuffer inscribed with "the British Constituition".[19] He extinguishes a pygmy Napoleon. Death of the Corsican Fox - scene the last, of the Royal Hunt is even more flattering to the Monarch.[20] George

PLATE 21. The Save - all and the Extinguisher B.M.C. 10013 (1803).

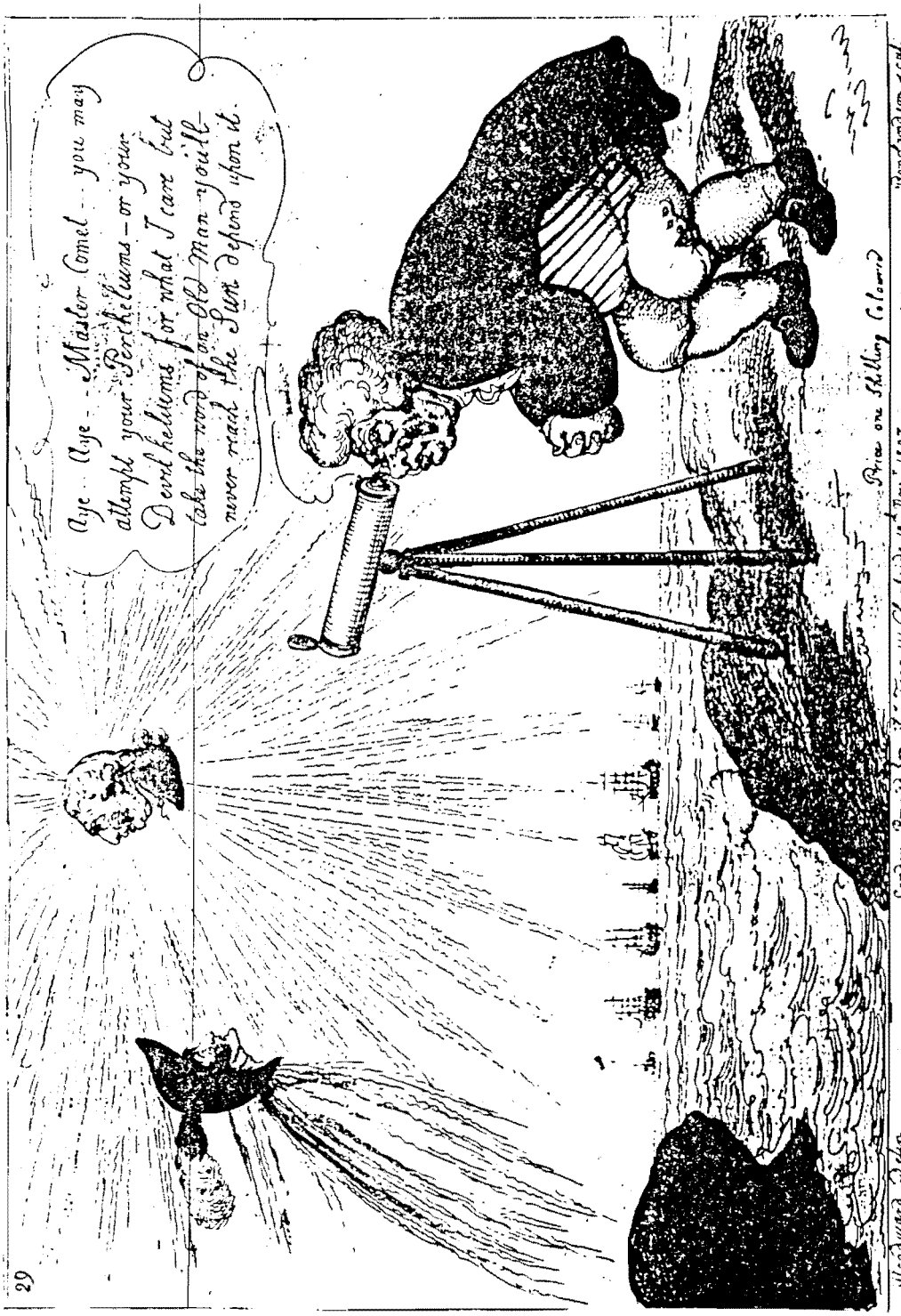


PLATE 22. Iohn Bull making observations on the Comet B.M.C. 10769 (1807).

III as the huntsman stands beside his white Hanoverian horse holding up a fox with the head of Napoleon. His hounds have collars inscribed with the names of successful Admirals while the rest of the hunt, led by Pitt, gallops up. Here, although credit has been given to Pitt and the Admirals, the King has subsumed the sum of individual glory into that of the Nation.

The prints on George III in 1804-5 while still at the height of the invasion scare show a sharp decline in numbers. Nor is there anything new in their thematic or artistic representation of the King. In The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver the royal family watch a tiny Napoleon manoeuvre a boat in a rectangular tank.[21] The Gulliver motif was again popular and the print ran to several copies. George appears in his personal role as head of the British Nation in George and England Save.[22] In this print George is linked with but does not represent England, and both George and England are protected by another national image; Britannia. The symbolism of this print is similar to St George and the Dragon.[23] (PLATE 19) George stands primarily for the Monarchy rather than the abstract image of Britannia.

With the death of Pitt political tensions combined with a decline in the invasion threat after Trafalgar meant that the royalty prints of 1806-7 concentrate on internal rather than external struggle. Only one print, Iohn Bull making observations on the Comet (PLATE 22) contains the George III versus Napoleon motif.[24] Monarchy prints in 1808-9 are equally sparse. The initial popularity of the war in Spain dominates the caricatures of 1808. In one print Napoleon is gored by a Spanish Bull while George III is merely a delighted spectator.[25] In 1809 the role of the Monarchy in the Anglo - French struggle was overshadowed by the full impact of the Mary-Anne Clarke scandal. Only one print in which George III, as father of the country,

furiously admonishes Lord Chatham is positive with regard to the King's role in the war.[26]

The setting up of the Regency in 1810 was a heavy blow for the popularity of the Monarchy. Despite his faults George III's personal reputation had always been sound but this middle class respectability did not apply to the Regent. Despite the Regent's personal unpopularity, he, like George III, played an important role in the prints as Napoleon's antagonist. In The Imperial Shaving Shop Napoleon attempts to shave the Tsar's whiskers but is unsuccessful.[27] The Regent, too, is defiant and remarks, "I shall continue to wear my whiskers as I please in spite of all opposition." Although symbolising the defiance of Britain this print is also a personal satire on the Regent's whiskers.

With victory in sight the popularity of the conflict allegories was revived. The Regent represents Britain in three prints. He opposes Napoleon in A Game of Cribbage or Boney's last shuffle.[28] In this print a handsome debonair Regent defeats Napoleon at cribbage. Behind the Regent's chair lies a wary bulldog representing John Bull. The role of the Regent in this print is in keeping with his personal role as head of the allied coalition rather than a symbol of national identity (which is represented by the Bulldog).

Although some prints support the Monarch's role as a symbol of national identity the number is comparatively small. During 1793-1814 there were over four hundred and fifty prints concerned mainly or partially with royalty. Of these only a small number follow the antagonistic or "protector" motifs. Even in 1803 the number of prints on George III was small compared with prints in which John Bull and Napoleon are the antagonists. Ironically the Monarchy was most popular in the decade 1800-10 when increasing ill-health made

PLATE 23. Head and Brains B.M.C. 9012 (1797).

George III less politically active.[29] The association of the Monarchy with national glory was constantly hampered by the personal and political failings of the royal family.

This was particularly so of George III before 1800. Farmer Looby manuring the Land of 1794 is a virulent attack on the Farmer George image.[30] It depicts George III as coarse, vulgar and stupid. More sophisticated, yet on a similar theme, is the Plan of Mud Island off the Kingdom of Corsica in which George III is depicted in profile as a blank face indicating his vacuity.[31] Head and Brains (PLATE 23) produced amidst the wave of "King and constitution" sentiment in 1797 also highlights the personal stupidity of the King.[32] George may be head of state but Pitt is credited with directing intelligence.

The other members of the royal family did little to enhance this negative image. Queen Charlotte was considered a miser while the royal princes were often criticised for extravagance and debauchery. The Prince of Wales was especially unpopular in the prints. In 1795 his debts were attacked in four prints while in 1796 he was criticised over an affair with Lady Jersey.[33] By 1808 any amused tolerance for the Prince's misdemeanours had evaporated. John Bull, as representative of the British public, seriously admonishes the Prince and his brother York for their godless ways in John Bull advising with his superiors.[34]

It was the Duke of York in fact who made the biggest impact on the prints. In 1809 he was accused of selling Army commissions through his mistress Mary-Anne Clarke. The subsequent trial of Mrs Clarke and her championship by Colonel Wardle became a lucrative topic for the caricaturists. Over seventy prints cover the scandal, and this represents about 16% of the total output of prints on royalty

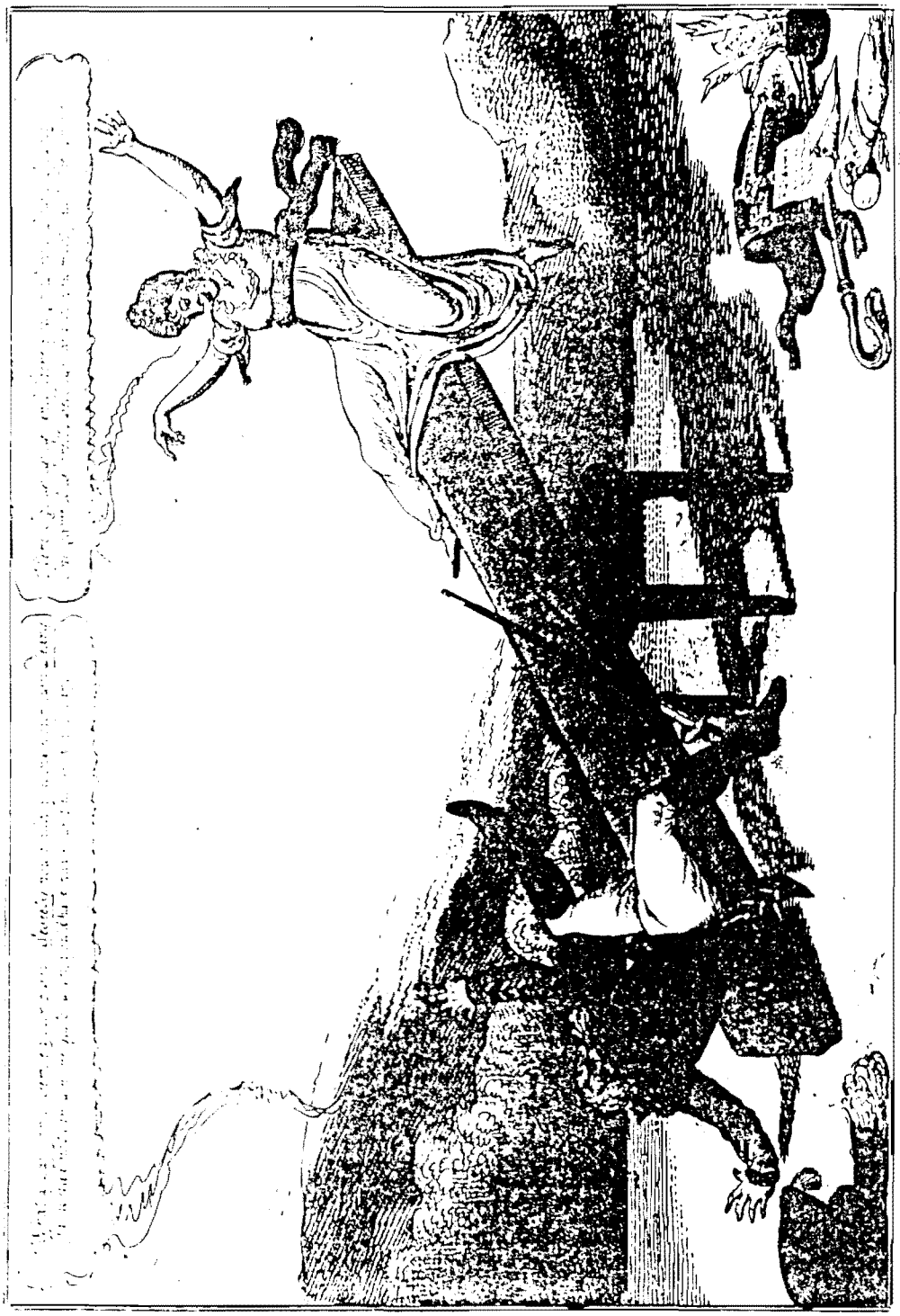


PLATE 24. The Game of See Saw - or - Amusement for John Bull B.M.C. 11284 (1809).

during the 1793-1814 period.[35] The prints were usually negative in their portrayal of York, criticising him especially of corruption and the abuse of his power as Commander in Chief of the army.

Even after becoming Regent the Prince of Wales was more often caricatured in connection with some sexual scandal rather than as head of the nation. In 1812 the Prince's affair with Lady Hertford provided rich opportunities for the caricaturists to attack the Regent personally and politically.[36] Distaste for Lady Hertfords political influence was strongly expressed and articulated the Englishmans dislike of "petticoat government." Even with the boost provided by the defeat of Napeleon, the Regents image in print was mainly negative. In 1814 this ratio is about 3 : 1 in favour of the negative image.

Personal attacks on the royal family did not always mean a negative attitude towards royalty. In 1814 the Tsar is contrasted with the Regent as a model of royal behaviour in two companion prints.[37] Each print consists of a series of eight scenes which represent a day in the life of the Tsar and Regent. The Tsar is praised for his abstemious habits and personal deportment while the Regent is attacked for the opposite vices. The Regents day is full of trivialities, excess and debauch and he is "worn with ennui-devour'd with spleen."

Politically as well as personally the Monarchy came under attack in the period 1793-1814. Since the Restoration the British Monarchy had been limited by constitutional precedents. The despotic use of royal power was condemned and every Monarch was viewed warily for signs of the arbitrary abuse of power.[38] The position of the Monarch at a time of national crisis was highly invidious. If the Monarch acted decisively he could be criticised for the use of

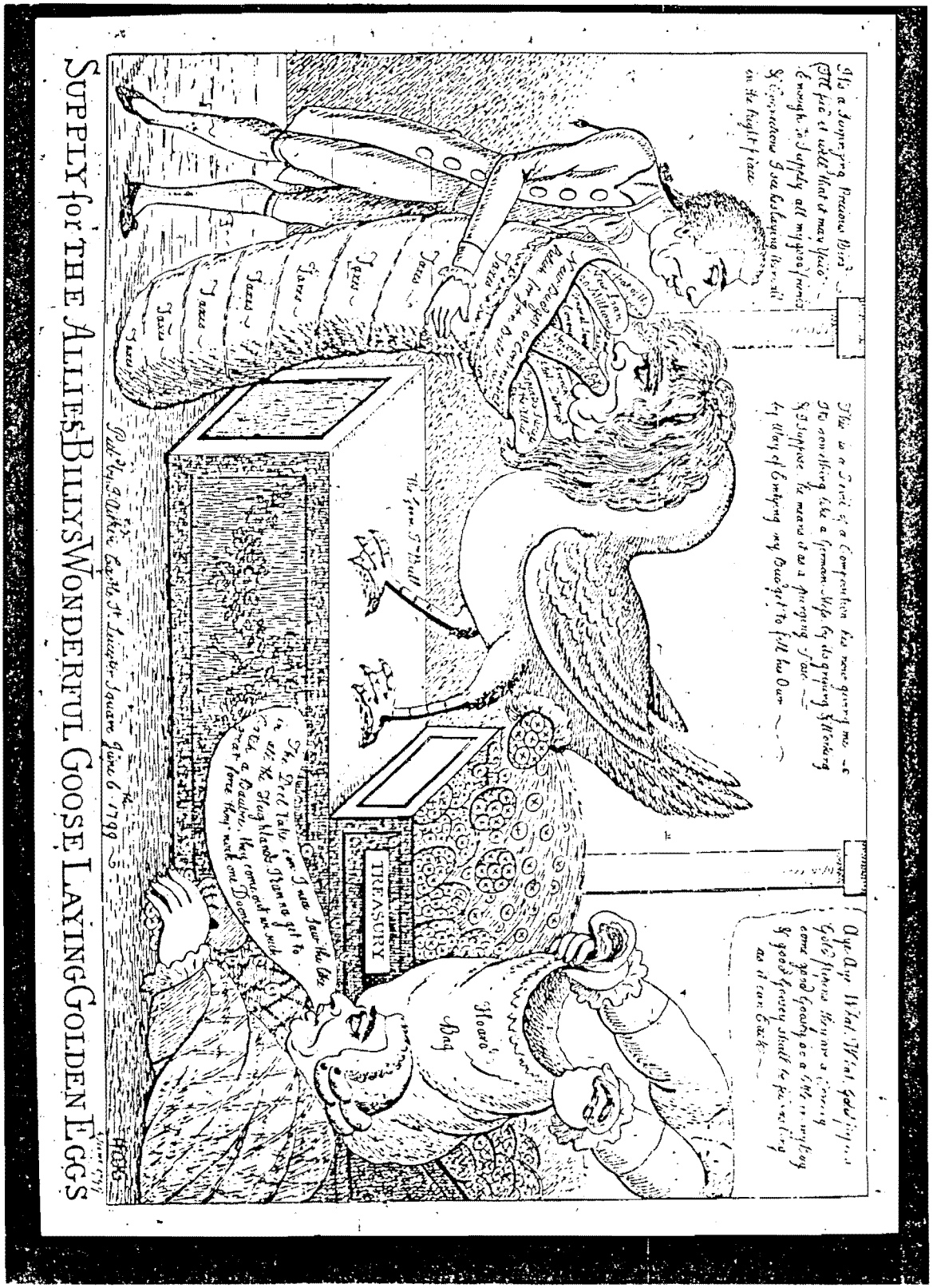

SUPPLY for THE ALLIES-BILLYS WONDERFUL GOOSE, LAYING GOLDEN EGGS
TREASURY
Hoare
Boy
Jews
Jews
Jews

PLATE 26. The Vision of the Three Cats, a Fable B.M.C. 9551 (1800).

arbitrary power, while if he acted weakly he could be accused of being a dupe of ministerial influence. External forces also affected the Monarch's popularity, and, to a certain extent, the image of the Monarch rose and fell with the success or failure of the war.

George III was not astute enough, especially when in failing health, to avoid the innumerable political pitfalls. In a print of 1794, The Foxchase, George III is ridden for the first time by Pitt who chases after Charles Fox.[39] This motif is an allegory for Pitt's dominance over policy and the weakness of the King. The motif of Pitt riding George III (usually depicted as the white Hanoverian horse) is repeated in several prints while Pitt's control over the King is caricatured by various other motifs.[40] In 1795 Pitt is a coachman who drives the King's coach, while in 1796 he uses a crown-shaped bellows to dissolve the houses of parliament and set himself up as dictator.[41]

Although often portrayed as the dupe of his ministers, the King does not escape the blame for unpopular decisions, especially in the area of taxation. John Bull ground down shows John ground into guineas for the benefit of the Prince of Wales, Dundas and Burke who had all been given pensions.[42] George III as an irradiated crown exclaims: " . . . it's for the good of your country". In an O'Keefe print of 1799 (PLATE 25) John Bull is a goose.[43] He is fed purging doses of "loans" and "taxes" in order to lay eggs of guineas. George III (indicated by his speech only) holds out a "Hoard bag" to catch the money. The Vision of the Three Cats, a Fable (PLATE 26) criticises George III's uninspired leadership.[44] He is attacked for blindness and negligence which has enabled his ministers to become fat and sleek at the expense of the common people. The implication is that he should exercise more control over the ministers of the crown.

Table 1. Comparison of the popularity of the Monarch and the symbols of Monarchy

Year	Percentage of positive prints.	
	Symbols or Allusions	Personal images of George III or the Prince Regent.
1793-1802	52%	39%
1803-1810	81%	73%
1811-1814	72%	16%
1793-1814	67%	41%

The political image of George III was not always negative. Political power plays in 1806-7 allowed him to exercise his authority in the choice of ministers. In the prints the King acts alertly and assertively in response to ministerial changes.[45] His paternalistic role is expressed by one print as a concern for John Bull.[46] His dismissal of the Broad Bottoms in 1806 proved a popular subject for the cartoonists.[47] He is seen acting, not arbitrarily, but in support of his coronation oath.

Overall, the prints' image of the Monarch is complex and varied. The King is usually supported when acting in a constitutional way or when symbolising the nation. Politically the King is less popular, and the personal inadequacies of George III and the Prince Regent hamper the development of the Monarchy as a national symbol. Despite this the reduction of negative prints during the period 1800-1810 and the increase of the association of the Monarch with the nation in print symbolism tends to support non-print evidence. To a certain extent George III appears to achieve a widespread if transient popularity, although this is not true of the Regent in this period.[48]

However to praise or promote the Monarchy it was not necessary to emphasise the Monarch. Many prints exclude direct association with the Monarch and emphasise instead the symbols of Monarchy such as a crown or a royal oak. Such symbols usually represent an ideal image of Monarchy. They conceptualise the traditional and constitutional role of the Monarch as distinct from the short comings of any particular Monarch. The symbols or allusions to the Monarchy in the prints prove consistently more postive than the caricatured images of George III or the Prince Regent (see table 1.)

Initially Gillray used a crown as a negative image. In Britannia between Scylla and Charybdis [49] an inverted crown represents the whirlpool of arbitrary power. Democracy, as the rock Scylla, is also criticised while the constitution is praised. The limitations of caricature made the subtleties of the constitution difficult to portray. An unbalanced constitution favouring any one of the three elements, Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy, was seen as harmful. Symbols of the Monarchy were often portrayed in conjunction with other constitutional images. An example of the triple structure can be seen in A Picture of Great Britain in the Year 1793 in which the constitution is represented by a three-pillared temple.[50] The three pillars stand for King, lords and commons.

The postive symbolism of the Monarchy is often a secondary or background theme of a particular print. An example is a Gillray print of 1795 in which the main character is Pitt.[51] "Lords" and "Commons" are inscribed within the "Sun of the Constitution" and are responsible for the exposure of the opposition. The constitution plays a secondary role to political satire in a print of 1797 in which Fox, an oafish republican, shoots at a target in which a crown forms the bullseye.[52] The two outer rings are inscribed "Lords" and "Commons". Only occassionally is the crown depicted as being at the complete mercy of politicians.[53]

Like the personal prints, the use of monarchical symbols was popular in 1803. In six prints Napoleon's ambitions are symbolised in the desire for a crown.[54] Apart from one print, in which the crown is specifically the "Corona Imperialis", Napoleon's desire indicates his realisation of the supremacy of the British Nation and its system of government. In The Rival Gardeners Napoleon attempts to grow an imperial crown but it will not flourish.[55] George III dressed

as "farmer George" cultivates an oak topped with a royal crown, again emphasising the superiority of the British nation. The importance attached to the symbol of the crown is reflected in the need to preserve the crown from threat. In two prints of 1803 Britannia guards the crown while in another two the protector is the Royal Navy.

The symbol of the crown, as well as being closely connected to the constitution, was also associated with other symbols of British vigour, especially the oak tree. Positive imagery surrounding the oak had its basis in the use of oak in the manufacture of ships of the line and was identified with British Naval supremacy. It also stands as a symbol of British stubborness in resistance. An oak tree is prominent in The Royal Oak of 1807.[56] An oak tree topped with a crown and with four acorns inscribed "protestant faith" "integrity of lords" "independence of commons" and "liberty of the people" is under attack from the whigs while Napoleon plants a rival pippin. As in other prints the oak has the ability to resist Napoleon.

Later in the period the use of the oak image was superseded by another popular image, that of the sun. Although the sun had been used as early as 1795 as a symbol of the Monarchy, it was not until after the invasion threat of 1803-5 that it became popular.[57] In 1806 two prints associate royal power with the sun but this image is secondary to satire on internal politics. The image proved more popular in the following year in which six prints use the sun motif.[58] In one print the main element is an irradiated crown which is enclosed by "The Sun of the constitution". The crown is seen as the central or dominant element of the constitution.

The use of such symbols re-inforced the role of the Monarchy with crude positive imagery. At the same time the complexity of the Monarch's constitutional and political role was reduced to

PLATE 27. For improving the Breed B.M.C. 8827 (1796).

simplistic statements. This development promoted an abstract concept of Monarchy associated vaguely, if emphatically, with national success. As a symbol for Britain the concept of Monarchy in the prints became increasingly subsumed into the identity of the constitution or the nation. The national glory superseded that of the King. As a symbol for the nation the Monarchy compared unfavourably to other abstract identities such as John Bull and Britannia. Although God save the King had superseded Rule Britannia as the national anthem by 1800 such dominance is not reflected in the prints.[59]

The association of the Monarchy with national glory peaked during the years 1800-10 and declined afterwards with the increasing war-weariness and the unpopularity of the Regent. The uninspiring personalities of George III and the Regent probably hampered the development of positive royal symbolism in the prints. Attitudes towards fat unintelligent German royalty are most pungently expressed in a satire of 1796 For improving the Breed.[60] (PLATE 27) Obviously the fat ugly Wittemberg should be no improvement but the title suggests otherwise. The evidence of the prints is not wholly negative and many do praise the personality of George III or depict the Monarchy as the prime symbol of British glory. Overall the British came to regard the Monarchy with loyalty and respect but they did not expect too much from it in the way of leadership.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Linda Colley, "The apotheosis of george III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760-1820" Past and Present no 113 (November, 1986) p 113.
2. B.M.C. 10424.
3. For the negative image of the King see Colley, "George III" p 102. The connection between patriotism and radicalism is examined in Hugh Cunningham, "The language of patriotism, 1750-1915" History Workshop vol 12 (1981) pp 9-13.
4. For an account of the Loyalist movements see Robert Dozier, For King Constitution and Country: the English Loyalists and the French Revolution (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983) esp pp 14-15, 76-79, 175.
5. Colley, "George III" pp 109-11.
6. Peter Borsay in "All the towns a stage?: urban ritual and ceremony 1660-1800 "in Peter Clarke ed, The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800 (London, 1984) gives an account of the decline in traditional ritual and the rise of state-sponsored ceremonies.
7. Mark Harrison, "The ordering of the urban environment: time, work and the occurence of crowds 1790-1835" Past and Present no 110 (February, 1986) p 156.
8. Ibid pp 159-160.
9. Ibid pp 150-1.
10. B.M.C. 8346.
11. Colley "George III" p 125.
12. B.M.C. 9701 (1801).
13. B.M.C. 9839.
14. B.M.C. 9842.
15. B.M.C. 10071, see also B.M.C. 9986.
16. A very popular print indeed, reprinted four times, B.M.C. 10019, it also spawned many imitations see B.M.C. 10034, 10112, 10130 (1803), 10227,(1804) for the Gulliver theme and B.M.C. 10031,(1803), 10227, 10247, (1804), 10549, (1806) for the scrying glass pose.
17. B.M.C. p 158.
18. For a selection see B.M.C. 10079, 10094, 10130.
19. B.M.C. 10013.
20. B.M.C. 10039.
21. B.M.C. 10227.
22. B.M.C. 10436, (1805).
23. B.M.C. 10424, (1905).
24. B.M.C. 10769, (1807).
25. B.M.C. 10997, (1808).
26. B.M.C. 11369, (1908).
27. B.M.C. 12007, (1813).
28. B.M.C. 12277, (1814) for other positive prints on the Regent see 12276, (1814) as an opponent of Napoleon, 12188, (1814) as a symbol of England, and 12265, (1814) in which the Regent is associated with peace and plenty.
29. The connection between the Monarchs symbolic popularity and his declining political role is discussed in Colley, "George III" p 121. Norman Gash in Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852 (Oxford, 1965) devotes his first chapter to a look at the

Hanoverian Monarchy and this follows much the same line of thought as Colley.

30. B.M.C. 8515.

31. B.M.C. 8516, (1794).

32. B.M.C. 9012 see also B.M.C. 9041, (1797) 9158, (1798) 9402, (1799). The wave of pro-King sentiment is described in Clive Emsley, British Society and the French Wars 1793-1815 (London, 1979) pp 62-3.

33. For the Prince's debts see B.M.C. 8646, 8650, 8661, 8666. The affair with Lady Jersy is depicted in B.M.C. 8809, 8810, 8816, 8983, 8988.

34. B.M.C. 10978, (1808).

35. For a selection see B.M.C. 11216, 11220, 11227, 11266, 11293, 11318, for the few prints favourable to York see B.M.C. 11306, 11314, 11343, 11345.

36. See especially B.M.C. 11886, also B.M.C. 11887, 11891.

37. B.M.C. 12290, 12291.

38. See Archibald . Foord, "The waning of the influence of the crown "English Historical Review vol 62 (1947).

39. B.M.C. 8480.

40.For George III as a horse see B.M.C. 8655, (1795) 9430, (1799) 10716,(1803).

41. B.M.C. 8681 and 8805.

42. B.M.C. 8654.

43. B.M.C. 9400.

44. B.M.C. 9551.(1800).

45. For an assertive King see B.M.C. 10532, 10533, 10545, (1806).

46. A concerned King, see B.M.C. 10527, 10544, 10545, (1806).

47. George III dismisses the broad bottoms in 1807 see B.M.C. 10709, 10711, 10712, 10719, 10727, 10738, 10739.

48. Colley, "George III" especially pp 113, 128.

49. B.M.C. 8320, (1793).

50. B.M.C. 8424.

51. B.M.C. 8644.

52. B.M.C. 9039.

53. B.M.C. 8812.

54. B.M.C. 9968, 9987, 10034, 10051, 10061, 10071.

55. B.M.C. 9968.

56. B.M.C. 10744 for the use of an oak as a symbol for Monarchy see also B.M.C. 8812, (1796), 9039, (1797), 9214, (1798), 9980, 10000, (1803).

57. For the sun and the Monarch see B.M.C. 8718, (1795), 10543, 10578, (1806).

58. B.M.C. 10721, 10732, 10738, 10739, 10764, 10769.

59. Colley, "George III" pp 102-3.

60. B.M.C. 8827.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATIONAL IDEALS:

BRITANNIA AND THE CONSTITUTION

While some visualised the nation in the person of the King, patriotic feeling was also conceptualised in the British constitution and the abstract personification of British ideals represented by the figure Britannia. Britannia and the constitution are often associated together in the prints and they represent abstract and concrete visualisations of national superority. The British believed they were better than other nations because of their traditional freedoms and liberties which allowed an Englishman to be honest, devout, disciplined and above all prosperous.[1] Britannia embodies the ideals which the British considered uniquely their own, while these ideals were made possible by the rule of law provided by the constitution.

Atherton, writing of the Britannia of the middle eighteenth century, considers that . . . "as a youthful matriarch she is the apotheosis and idealization of the values which the nation holds dear."[2] However, the image of Britannia in the political prints of 1793-1814 is varied. Established in print in the 1750's, her image is a merger of caricature and emblematic styles.[3] Although her origin can be traced back through the court masks and emblematic books of the mid-seventeenth century to a beginning on Roman coins, the image of Britannia had not yet become the fixed sterotype of Victorian propaganda.[4] At times she is an innocent and virtuous maiden while at others she is a robust matron, the mother of the country. She is

FASHION before EASE;

or, A good Consumption sacrificed for a Fantastick Form.

PLATE 28. Fashion before Ease B.M.C. 8287 (1793).

often, but not always, an embodiement of naval and military strength, a sort of English Athene. Her shield and lance symbolise power while her Greek robes associate her with a genre of passive emblematic figures to which the personifications of peace, liberty and justice belong.

The presentation of the image of Britannia in the prints is an important dimension in understanding her role and the audience to which she appealed. In Fashion before Ease (PLATE 28) of 1793 she appears as an attractive country maiden.[5] She clings desperately to an English oak while being forced into tight stays by Thomas Paine. Her wholesome innocence is contrasted with the grotesque "Frenchness" of Paine, and this accompanied by the idyllic country background to the print is designed to appeal to conservative Englishmen from all walks of life. The Britannia in the print is reinforced by positive symbolism of simple English virtues. The oak stands usually for English constancy of purpose or naval strength while the country scene represents simplicity and honesty. Her shield and spear are laid aside and the broken oak branch covering the spear may indicate a constitutional aversion to the use of military force. Her role in the print is passive and yielding a device used to appeal to chivalric instincts of protection.[6] As such she represents a group of ideals promoted for internal consumption, a liberal nationalism.

The Britannia in Design for the Naval Pillar (PLATE 29) is more familiar to our eyes and representative of the latter part of the period.[7] She is drawn as a Roman matron facing three quarters left. Her left arm rests nonchalantly against her shield and supports her trident while her right is extended to hold a winged figure representing victory or possibly peace. The background symbols

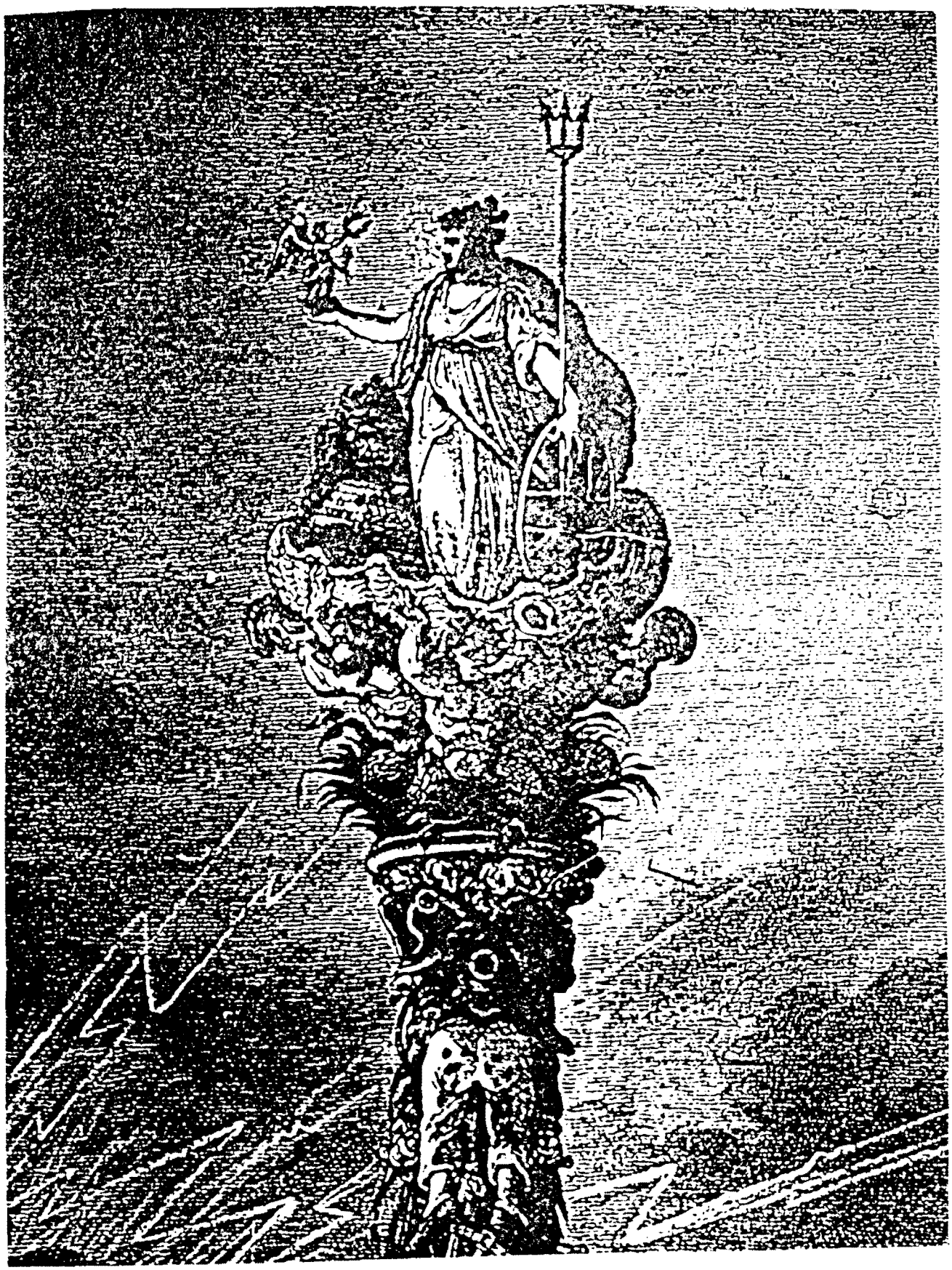


PLATE 29. Design for the Naval Pillar (detail) B.M.C. 9513 (1803).

reinforce the impression of military power. Britannia stands a-top a column composed of the detritus of French naval defeats. It is supported by the figures of "Fortitude" and "Justice" and rests upon stones inscribed with the names of victorious British Admirals. Britannia herself stands in a clam shell supported by three tritons; at her side the British lion has its claws firmly embedded in a globe. The appeal of this Britannia is to militant and aggressive patriotism; French defeat is gloated upon while British might is glorified. She is an external extension of militant nationalism and symbolises power rather than ideals.

The cartoon representation of Britannia drew from two traditions. As a symbol of British ideals she was often depicted as an innocent victim. This symbol was mainly used for internal affairs and was subject to the whims of those constitutional guardians, the politicians. As most of the traditional ideals were passive virtues Britannia's role was also passive. Like British subjects she suffers from the effects of political mismanagement or external threat. Britannia could also represent British power. The manifestations of this power were usually externally directed and this type of Britannia stood for national strength as much as national ideals. The one, of course, could be derived from the other. As a symbol of power Britannia could represent the British as rulers; only occasionally active, she usually expressed a passive and natural superiority over other nations.

Although the image of Britannia usually carried a positive value either as representative of British ideals or power, she was occasionally depicted in a negative manner. In Gillray's The First Kiss these Ten Years a fat ugly Britannia receives the advances of a lean Frenchman.[8] She is richly dressed and holds a fan instead

of her shield and trident which lean against the wall behind her. Britannia's manner is that of an ageing flirt and designed to repel rather than attract. As Britannia stands for the nation she does not escape criticism for the self-satisfied complacency Gillray perceived in late 1802.

In the prints the symbol Britannia does not exist in isolation but as part of an image complex which explores concepts of national identity. To the cartoonists it followed logically that if Britannia was associated with freedom, liberty and justice she would also be associated with prosperity and peace. A Britannia supporting or supported by the constitution or the King must by association be free, just and liberal. As a symbol of naval power Britannia also represented commercial and economic strength. The reverse was also true; if the constitution was unbalanced,then British freedoms could be curtailed and Britannia would be poor and oppressed. With continual visual association of certain images and symbols Britannia came to represent these images,even if they were not directly stressed. By the Victorian period Britannia represented naval strength without added imagery of British ships, oak trees and Jack Tars.

During the French Revolutionary wars the images and symbols most frequently associated with Britannia were: the constitutional; naval power; and British ideals, a set of values including freedom, justice, liberty, peace, prosperity and commerce. These images occurred in equal abundance from 1793-1802. The struggle for national survival from 1803-1807 saw a decrease in Britannia's association with the constitution and British ideals and an increase in imagery of naval power. From 1808-1814 the popularity of images of British ideals returns and they co-exist, often in the same print, with symbols of naval strength and commercial power. Visually Britannia

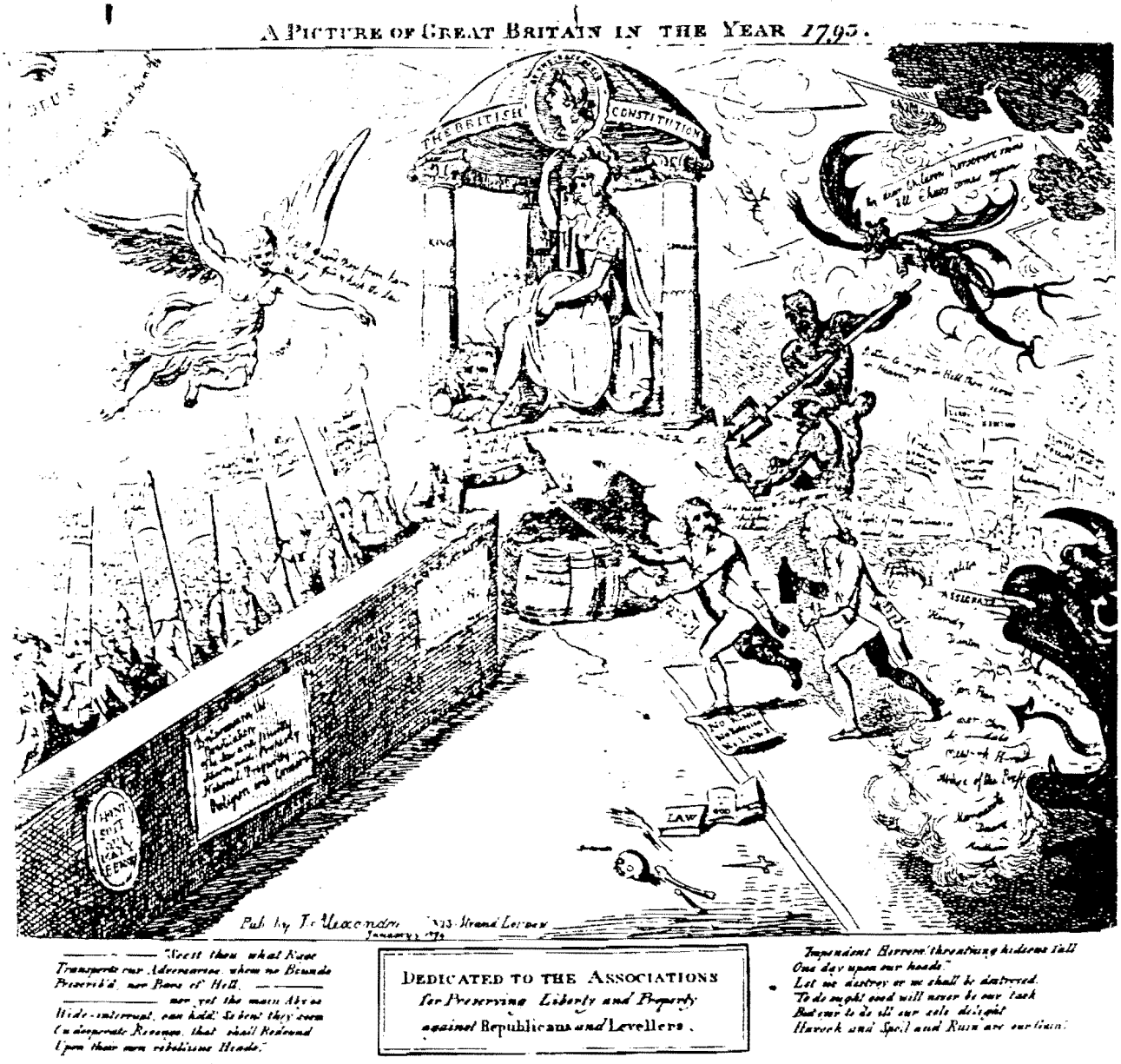


PLATE 30. A Picture of Great Britain in the Year 1793 B.M.C. 8428 (1794).

is increasingly the stout matron of the Victorian period. By the end of the war this association of ideals with visual images of strength and power meant that British superiority was packaged for export.

In A Picture of Great Britain in the Year 1793 (PLATE 30), published in early 1794, a calm assured Britannia sits under a temple representing the constitution.[9] Supporting Britannia and the status quo are a vast multitude who support "Amor Patrie," "Britannia and the Constitution" and "Liberty and Property". They oppose, so far successfully, the forces of reform and French radicalism. The Irish Union also depicts Britannia triumphing over radicals.[10] She is a buxom matron and her rule is depicted as bringing security, trade and liberty. As a result of these virtues a large horn of plenty pours forth gold and jewels. Bales of goods piled by the seated Britannia also indicate prosperity. Ayez Pitie de Nous (PLATE 31) depicts the converse.[11] Instead of being free and properous, Britannia is a victim of Pitt's abuse of power. The constitution has been overthrown while liberty and truth have been killed. A yoked and weeping Britannia reverses her sword against her breast. All these prints are drawn in an emblematic rather than caricaturing style which allows for a more unambiguous depiction of events.

While the Britannia of 1793-1802 was ruling amidst liberty and prosperity or suffering under the malignant and unconstitutional rule of Pitt, she was also celebrating naval successes. She is mentioned only by name in a print celebrating the Glorious 1st of June in 1794, but is depicted in full triumphant glory in the naval column design of 1800.[12] (see above PLATE 29). In Downfall of Monopoly in 1800 she is associated with prosperity while in the background ships indicate naval and commercial might.[13] Considering the success of of the British navy in this period, Britannia's association with it

PLATE 31. Ayez Pitie de Nous B.M.C. 9002 (1797).

PLATE 32. The Honey Moon B.M.C. 10536 (1806).

PLATE 33. The Wounded Lion (detail) B.M.C. 10421 (1805).

is almost insignificantly small.

During the period 1803-7 only five prints associate Britannia with the constitution or British ideals. In two prints calm assured Britannias preside over liberty, truth, freedom and,more interestingly, in one case,courage.[14] Britannia between Death and the Doctors is weak and fainting but will be cured with "constitutional restorative". A frolicsome Britannia dances with Fox in The Honey Moon (PLATE 32) of 1806.[15] This departure from her usually sedate pose is in anticipation of peace and plenty on the death of Pitt. The Wounded Lion (PLATE 33) of 1805 is another print depicting a weak and expiring Britannia .[16] In this case the suppression of one of the traditional English liberties, trial by jury, has dealt the fatal blow.

In the same period 1803-7 seven prints associate Britannia with naval might. Tall ships in the background emphasise the naval relationship in 1803,while in 1804 The Loyalists Alphabet an original effusion depicts Britannia in association with the sea and an olive branch.[17] The alphabet consists of twenty-four small designs in which Britannia appears in the first, standing for "Albions Isle". The choice of naval might and peace to reinforce the image of Britannia indicates the non-aggressive and commercial aspects of the rule of the waves. The aggressive element of naval domination was present in two prints of 1805 in which Britannia joins Nelson in celebrations over the victory of Trafalgar.[18] In A Political Fair of 1807 the essential elements of a British booth include Britannia and the wooden walls of England. The association of Britannia with the rule of the waves was becoming gradually more expected in print.[19]

During 1808-13, the low period of the war, only one print associates Britannia with British ideals, in this case liberty, commerce and plenty.[20] Such imagery was revived in 1814 with victory

over Napoleon. Emblematic Representation of Peace, a crude woodcut, possibly sold at half price, The Downfall of Tyranny and Return of Peace and Britannia and the seven Champions or modern Christendom Restored all depict the fruits of victory.[21] Peace is associated with freedom and plenty, and Britannia with commerce and trade. Victory in the war is seen as bringing prosperity and reconfirming liberty. Only the concept of commercial strength is common to all three prints,and this was as usual connected with Britannia's domination of the seas. Scenes of economic and commercial success, in conjunction with military triumph,emphasise the idea that to the victor had gone the spoils.

Images of naval strength were also revived in the general triumph of 1814. No print was more nationalistic in sentiment than Great and Generous Nation. Britons Has Triumphantly Reach'd the Summit of True Glory.[22] Britannia stands under an English oak her lion by her side facing Neptune who points with his trident towards the oak. A trident indicates naval strength in the hands of a baby commerce in The Downfall of Tyranny,while in Britannia and the seven champions Britannia's car is a sea shell. From 1793 to 1814 the emphasis on the domination of the seas in the visual image of Britannia has increased.

As well as being surrounded by positive and negative imagery, Britannia's personal role in the prints from 1793-1814 is twofold. Depicted as a passive victim,she represents an abstract personification of national virtues; the maiden image is often honest simple and wholesome. In this role she appeals to patriotic instincts. When depicted as a robust warrior her role is exhortative. As such she inspires patriotism and is closely associated with naval might.

PLATE 34. Britannia in tribulation for the loss of her Allies or John Bull's advice B.M.C. 10757 (1807).

Generally, when appealing for support, Britannia's malaise is internal while her more militaristic exhortative role is directed externally and often designed to appeal to English xenophobia.

The passive image of Britannia was often associated with an active masculine figure. This could be a politican, as in Britannia between Scylla and Charybdis.[23] A buxom and alarmed Britannia is seated in a boat labelled "The Constitution" which is steered by Pitt past the twin dangers of democracy and arbitrary power. Pitt, as prime minister, takes charge of the course of national policy. Chivalric symbolism predominates in St George and the Dragon (PLATE 19), in which George III as head of state delivers Britannia from Napoleon.[24] Britannia could also appeal to the nation as a whole, as in 1807, when she is depicted appealing to John Bull for aid.[25] (PLATE 34) Britannia still holds her military shield and lance but it is John Bull with his stout oak cudgel who will actively oppose Napoleon.

The vulnerability of Britannia can make her an easy target for an unscrupulous protector. This facet of her character is pronounced in satires on internal politics in which 70% of the Britannia are passive victims. She suffers indirectly in The Republican Attack of 1795.[26] Pitt drives the King through a violent mob while Britannia, a victim of Pitt's driving, falls beneath the wheels. The print depicts an actual incident, while Britannia's plight symbolises the loss of British liberties and freedoms under Pitt's Two Acts of 1793 which were seen as unconstitutional. In 1802 the Addington ministry also exploits a helpless ugly Britannia in The Nursery with Britannia reposing in Peace.[27] In Britannia between Death and the Doctors of 1804 a fainting Britannia reclines on a bed.[28] She is threatened by a skeletal Napoleon who stealthily

PLATE 35. A Second Sight View of the Blessings of Radical Reform

B.M.C. 11328 (1809).

approaches with spear raised. The "Doctors" are Pitt, Addington and Fox whose combined ministrations have brought Britannia to such a state. Pitt is the most vigorous of the doctors and his remedy of "Constitutional restorative" is favoured.

The frequent ability of ministers to impose on the English rights and ideals represented by Britannia in the prints is connected with a general and wide spread condemnation of "party," "opposition" "place" and "corruption". A distrust of politics and an admiration of independence was one of the fundamental characteristics of the English middle classes. This distrust was naturally pronounced when government policies produced hardship among large sections of the community; the financial crises of 1795-6, the debate on peace throughout 1800-02 and the increasing war weariness of 1810-12. Such divisions highlight the lack of national consensus at vital periods of the war. Lack of trust in the nation's leadership could only hamper the development of national unity.

However, Britannia's vulnerability could be used to support patriotic appeals on the basis of ideals rather than policy. Her plight exposed areas of threat both internal and external. In A Second Sight View of the Blessings of Radical Reform (PLATE 35) Britannia is the helpless victim of Burdettite radicalism.[29] Her shield and spear are broken while her robes are set on fire and a dagger is plunged into her breast. Napoleon, representing the external threat to Britain once her bulwark of ideals has fallen, hovers above as a bird of prey. In the background a line of guillotines represent what can be expected after the fall of Britannia.

Except for 1803, when the attempt to promote national strength and morale was at its height, the figure of Britannia is rarely depicted in an active role in the prints. In 1798 her arm and shield

are shown destroying the French colussus (PLATE 7), while in 1800 she actively protects George III from assassination.[30] The need to promote a climate of national confidence in response to the invasion crisis meant that positive images of Britannia, like those of other national symbols, peaked in 1803. Six prints depict Britannia in an active role, and in two she is seen birching Napoleon.[31] Britannia Correcting an Unruly Boy is a typical image of the year.[32] Britannia is a powerful Roman matron and is drawn larger than Napoleon to represent her natural British naval might, while Britannia herself in birching the unruly Napoleon represents the nation's military capabilities.

After 1803 the number of active Britannias drops off almost completely. In Rainy Weather Master Noah - or - the Invaders up to their B---ch in Business of 1804 a massive and assured Britannia defeats Napoleon in the style of 1803.[33] She does not appear actively again until 1808 when she assists the Spanish by supplying weapons.[34] In contrast with the dynamism of her role in 1803, the Britannia of 1808 seems lukewarm in her defiance of Napoleon. By 1813 she was protecting not the nation but the Princess Charlotte in G. Cruikshank's Regent Valentine.[35] In comparison with her roles as a passive victim or symbol of national ideals, the number of active protector type Britannias were small.

When a more active image is needed by the cartoonists to indicate the strength and superiority of the English, a lion is frequently used. Like Britannia the British Lion was developed from antique traditions.[36] Its position as the "King of Beasts" was established in the medeival fables and emblem books. It was also used extensively in heraldry. In the animal allegory of nations the English adopted the lion as their symbol, just as they assigned monkeys to the French

and frogs to the Dutch. The lion is often alongside Britannia as an active masculine symbol to balance her passive idealism. It is also able to act alone. Although often represented in a passive pose,the lion is generally in a state of readiness, with aggressive action implied. Symbolising power and dominion,the lion stood for the English as rulers.

In 1803 the lion appears in two prints, associated with John Bull rather than Britannia, in which it is a major antagonist of Napoleon.[37] The lion is most aggressive during the Napoleonic wars; it figures twice as a symbol of British might in 1805.[38] In 1812 it defeats a Napoleonic bantam in an old-style emblematic print,while in another print of the same year it is associated with military power as it tramples on the eagles captured at Vittoria.[39] A British oak symbolising naval power joins with the military lion to defeat a Napoleonic serpent in 1814.[40] As Britannia assumed the mantle of commercial strength the lion represented the desirable military virtues of courage and aggression. From 1803 onwards these virtues were at least as important as freedom, liberty and justice.

If Britannia personified the abstract final form of English nationalism,the constitution was the cornerstone on which English freedoms, liberties and ideals were based. Consciousness of national identity coalesced around the constitution,which represented both the traditional and xenophobic elements of nationalism. An essential part of Englishness was the belief that the constitution was the finest in the world. From the Glorious Revolution of 1688 it developed into the traditional expression of national character and was universally believed to guarantee an Englishman's freedom.[41] Although belief in the virtues of the constitution was fundamental to the average Englishman,he generally understood those virtues in the simplest

terms. In the prints which did not have the capacity for complex arguments these terms were also simplified. The essential elements of the constitution were understood as tradition, authority and liberty.

The basis of the constitution went back beyond the Glorious Revolution to the concept of Englands "ancient constitution". The "ancient constitution" was supported by the Magna Carta, the original guarantor of English liberties.[42] It along with "Trial by Jury", "Habeas Corpus", the "Bill of Rights" and the "Petition of Rights" provide the foundation for the expression of constitutional authority, the rule of law. The Magna Carta was used as a symbol in its own right and stood for legitimate authority and the rule of law. It embodied national tradition,stood for national authority and guaranteed national liberties. Its role in the prints overlaps but does not overshadow that of the constitution.

The Magna Carta occurs mainly in the background of the prints. In The Contrast (PLATE 2) of 1793 it is held by Britannia in her role as guardian of the constitution.[43] It is associated in the print with the symbols of justice and liberty. In The Loyalists Alphabet an Original effusion of 1804 M equals "Magna Carta's strong chain", which is symbolised by an Englishman, Scotsman, Welshman and Irishman hand in hand.[44] In this instance the Magna Carta is seen supporting the liberty of all the British peoples. It is depicted as a unifying force.

More often the Magna Carta is under threat. Inactive, it is acted upon by various other agents and figures. Its fate is often to be burnt,overthrown or trampled upon. A Free Born Englishman (PLATE 50) stands upon the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights in a print of 1795.[45] His ragged form and padlocked mouth are seen as a result of the abuse of his traditional guarantees of liberty

PLATE 36. A Model for Patriots or An Independant Legislator B.M.C. 11540 (1810).

by the politicans. In Horrors of the French Invasion English radicals burn the Magna Carta in the House of Commons, while in Consequences of a successful French Invasion the French have occupied the House of Commons and overthrown the Magna Carta along with the journals of the House of Commons, the Declaration of Rights, the document of the Hanoverian Succession and the "Claim of Rights".[46] Ideologically the Magna Carta, and indeed the constitution, forms a focal point in the struggle between the forces of tradition and the English and French radicals.

The distribution of the constitution prints confirms this role. The bulk of such prints occurs before 1803, and just under 45% appear from 1793-5. Unlike other national symbols, especially John Bull, George III and the Lion, the constitution could not be depicted as a vigorous active image. Images of a temple or an oak tree proved unwieldy in opposition to Napoleon (as a personified France). The constitution could be used actively in conjunction with personified symbols, as in 1803, when George III uses it to snuff out Napoleon.[47] An increasing polarisation of ideologies during the struggle for national survival in 1803 meant a demand for more active and aggressive national symbols, often portrayed in a militant way against external forces. The constitution, always a passive symbol and usually a remedy for internal threat, was no longer needed in the cartoonists' repetoire. From 1803-09 it was more important to defend Britain rather than the British constitution.

As militant patriotism began to wear thin as the war dragged on, the defence of the constitution was revived, this time by radicals. In 1810 the quarrel between Sir Francis Burdett and the House of Commons over the imprisonment of Gale Jones resulted in a surge of liberal patriotism centered on constitutional rights.[48] At the

PLATE 37. Britannia's Visit to the Tower B.M.C. 1558 (1810).

centre of the Burdettite platform was an appeal to defend freedom of speech based on the Bill of Rights and Magna Carta. He portrayed himself as the enemy of corruption and defender of the constitution. This stance led to his acclaim as a patriot hero throughout most of the country. The poitical crisis centered in London where crowds and troops skirmished for several days in early April, and was eagerly depicted by the metropolitan cartoonists.

Burdett as A Model for Patriots or An Independent Legislator (PLATE 36) claims to defend the Magna Carta against abuse.[49] The importance of the Magna Carta is stressed by its repetition on the "Rock of Entegrity" (sic). Threatening English liberties are an array of ministerial corruptions including favouritism, persecution and electoral corruption. Burdett himself could be portrayed as a victim of persecution in May when he was briefly arrested and committed to the Tower of London. In Britannia's Visit to the Tower (PLATE 37) Burdett further expounds his opposition to ministerial abuses, "pensions" "places" and "reversions".[50] His role as a patriot hero is intensified by "matyrdom", and his depiction in caricature is noble and handsome.

Gillray as usual took a cynical view of the matter in a print of 1809 in which Burdett incites a mob to overthrow the House of Commons.[51] Burdett clearly gets to the crux of the debate when he declares that the Magna Carta, Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights are useless without an "Honest House of Commons". This may be true but Burdett's solution in destroying (in the print) those same documents seems hardly the solution. The problem lies with the politicians and their relationship between the constitution as its guardians and implementers. The constitution can outline ideals of government but it cannot enforce them.

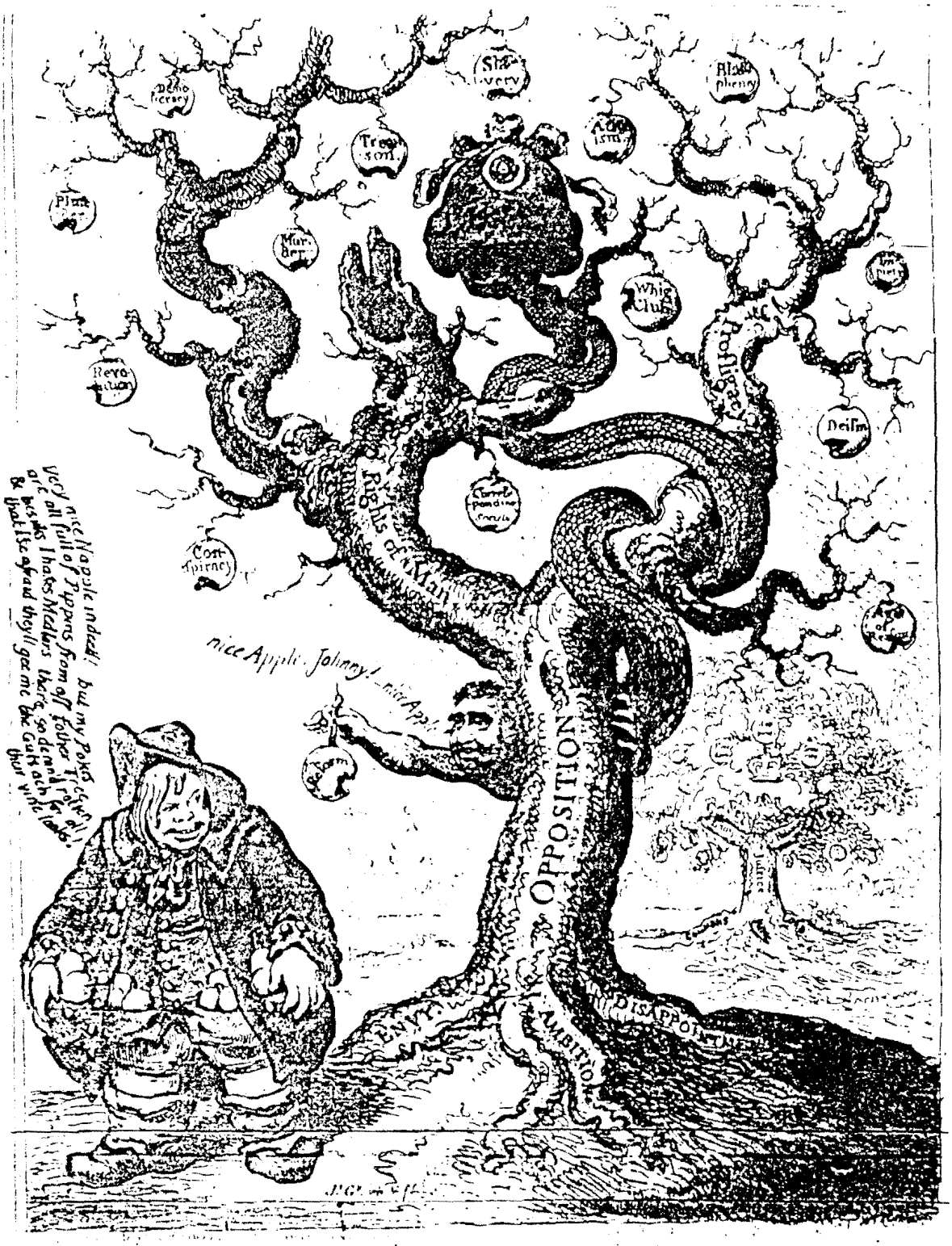
A THINKING CLUB!!

PLATE 38. A Thinking Club!! B.M.C. 8780 (1796).

Perhaps the key principle of constitutional liberty was an Englishman's freedom of expression. No matter how poor or humble, this right was the possession of every Englishman, and in participating in crowds, meetings and political gatherings he often exercised it. Certainly the media, newspapers, pamphlets and in particular caricatures, were not usually subject to government control.[52] When this freedom appeared to be threatened by Pitt's two acts to suppress seditous meetings and treasonable practises (known collectively as the Convention Bills), it provoked a sizable reaction in the prints. During 1795 fifteen prints attack the Convention Bills, just under 9% of the years total print output.[53]

A padlocked jaw is one allegorical representation of the Bills' oppression, as in A Sociable Meeting; or, Old Friends with New Faces.[54] The image was successful and it is used again to represent English slavery in several prints. In A Concise Explanation of the Convention Bills!! an obese old fashioned Englishman sums up the Bills to an inquiring Frenchman by shouting "Hold your Jaw!!".[55] Indignation over the Bills continued into 1796 when the concept behind them was carried to a ridiculous extreme in A Thinking Club!! (PLATE 38).[56] Six elderly and respectable gentlemen in the ironically named "constitutional muzzles" meet to consider how long they may be permitted the freedom to think, now that their freedom of speech has been abolished.

The symbolic representation of the constitution in the prints emphasises not freedom of speech (which is usually implied by association of ideas) but the doctrine of the separation of powers which stood for balance and security in government. The division of power equally between King, Lords and Commons meant that the English government was theoretically free from the excess of despotism, oligarchy and anarchy.[57] In many instances the complexity of the



The Tree of LIBERTY with the Devil tempting John Bull

PLATE 39. The Tree of Liberty B.M.C. 9214 (1798).

constitution was reduced in print to a three part design consisting of King, Lords and Commons. In the earlier emblematic prints a temple, usually with three pillars, had often been used as a symbol of the constitution.[58] The temple had strong connections with Protestantism, the three pillars representing not only King, Lords and Commons but also the three pillars of the Elizabethan settlement. Another popular constitutional symbol was an oak tree with three branches or three roots. The oak as a symbol was a pastiche of several ideas. It was connected with royalty and is sometimes labelled a "royal oak". Naval and commercial strength is also embodied in the oak by association with England's wooden walls. The oak also stands for the wholesome and traditional virtues of the old English countryside, as well as constancy and resistance to change. When the oak is depicted with three branches or roots, it is usually a constitutional oak. Quite often the symbol of the oak could mean all these things at once and this mutual association of ideas formed a composite image of Englishness.

In Le Coup de Maitre - of 1797 the oak and the constitution are depicted as separate but closely connected symbols.[59] Fox shoots at a three part target representing the constitution which hangs from the branch of an oak. The oak and constitution are more closely connected in The Tree of Liberty (PLATE 39), a Gillray print of 1798.[60] The oak in the background although unlabelled is clearly a royal or possibly constitutional oak. Its roots providing support for the tree are the three elements of the constitution; growing from the roots the trunk represents "Justice" with two branches "laws" and "Religion". The fruits of the oak are the results of English liberties; "Freedom" "Happiness" and "Security". The Royal Oak of 1807 emphasises the religious element of the constitution associating Protestantism with King, Lords, Commons and liberty of the press

PLATE 40. The Pillar of the Constitution B.M.C. 10738 (1807).

in a five part oak.[61]

The temple was an infrequent image during 1793-1814. It was used in A Picture of Great Britain in the Year 1793 where a dome labelled "The British Constitution" is supported on three columns labelled "King", "Lord(s)" and "Common(s)".[62] The temple forms a focal point for a struggle between the forces of good and evil represented by ministers and radicals, and, combined with the figure of Britannia, represents the nation. Although the use of pillars represented strength and stability, they could also be broken as in Ayez Pitie de Nous[63] (PLATE 31), or threatened as in Gillray's The Pillar of the Constitution[64] (PLATE 40) of 1807. The pillar is tri-partite representing King, Lords and Commons; it is surmounted by a crown, representing royal authority and a Holy Bible. Two other columns are surmounted by symbols representing justice and liberty, possibly symbolising Lords and Commons. The whole edifice is under threat from several ministerial conspirators who plot to blow it up with barrels of gunpowder representing threats to the constitution.

Overall the cartoonists depiction of the constitution reduced it to a collection of cliches: Magna Carta, representing traditions; freedom of speech, representing liberty; and division of powers, representing a balance of freedom and authority. The constitution was also connected with other composite symbols such as the oak and Britannia. The relationship between these symbols was both constant and complex; when depicted together they combined to give a comprehensive picture of English ideals. These ideals, being abstract, were pinned down with labels such as freedom, liberty and justice. The association of symbols and ideals over time meant that the whole image complex was often suggested by the use of just one symbol or ideal. If a print depicted the English constitution

Table 2. Distribution of prints concerned with taxation

Years	Number of Prints	Average percentage of taxation prints per year
1795-9	77	8.6%
1800-4	21	3.1%
1805-9	25	2.4%
1810-14	15	2%
Years peaking above average		
1795	22	12%
1802	9	7.5%
1812	7	5%

a logical and well-worn train of thought led the viewer to think of the King, Britannia, freedom, liberty and other associated virtues. Its contribution towards English nationalism was to form an ideological basis of superiority which symbols like John Bull and the navy could defend and support.

The constitution also formed the yardstick by which successive governments were measured. Concern about the corrupt state of politics was not new to the French-revolutionary and Napoleonic period. Throughout the eighteenth century political corruption had been attacked as part of a general reforming campaign directed at the nation's morals, religion and government.[65] The traditional political rhetoric attacking wicked ministers, corruption, extravagance, placemen, the size of the national debt, taxes and ministerial despotism was part of this campaign. During the war period this list was increased by anti-inflation and pro-peace arguments. As English characteristics had been lauded by contrast with the French,so this negative political rhetoric was balanced by the positive ideology surrounding the constitution.

During the war period Pitt's experimentation with various taxes on income and consumption exacerbated middle class perceptions of the inequality of taxation.[66] Satires on taxation had always existed but in the early part of the war they became particularly virulent in response to the increased burden. (see table 2) The content of the taxation prints is usually a simple no tax or lower tax message. Taxes on income and spending are targeted for attack as these were believed to hit the middling sorts hardest; the cartoonists had a ready anti-tax market in the growing metropolitan middle class.[67] Sometimes criticisms of taxation also critcise war finance in general. They often have a strong pro-peace element.[68]

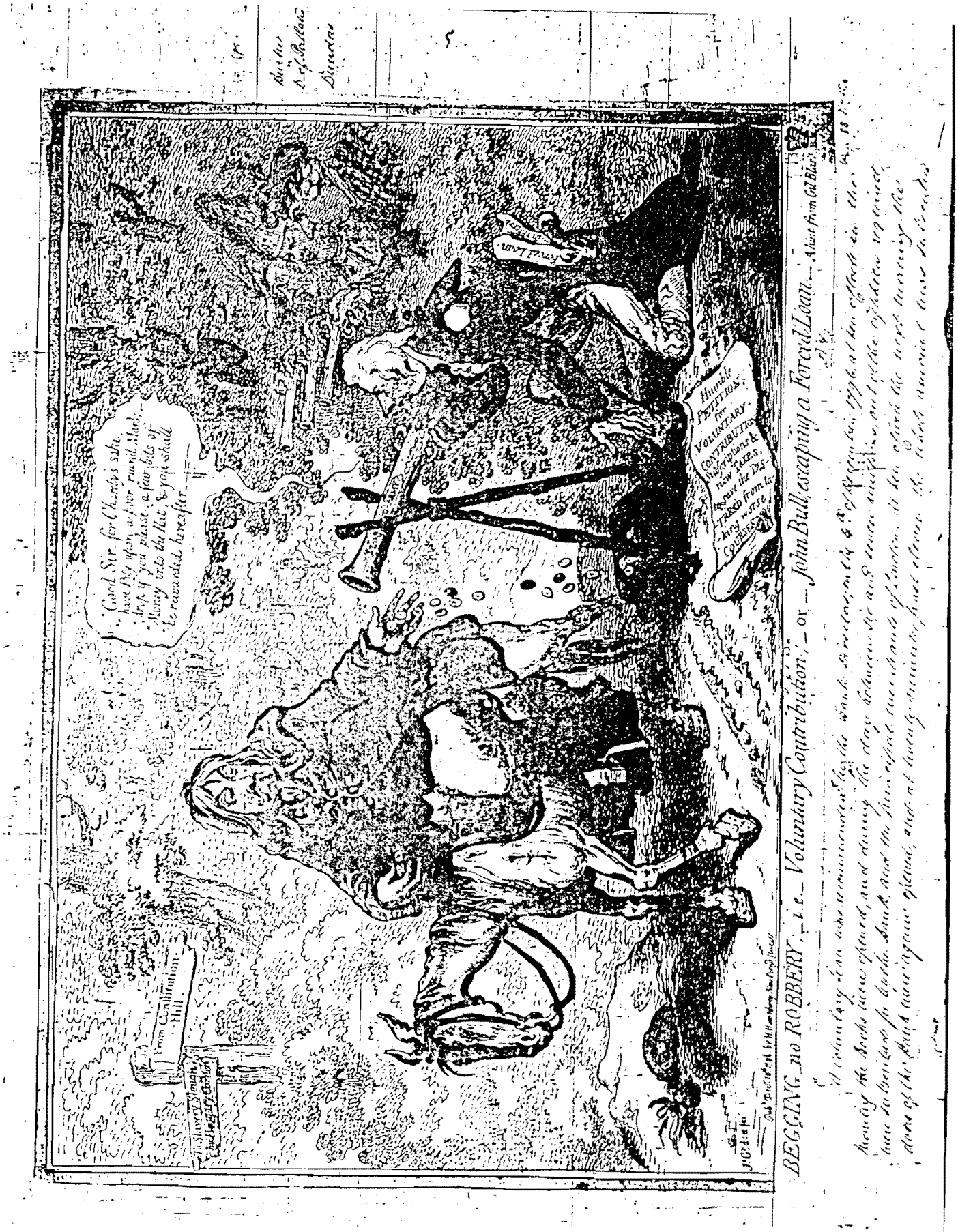


PLATE 41. Begging no Robbery; - ie - Voluntary Contribution; - or - John Bull escaping a Forced Loan B.M.C. 8842 (1796).

Occasionally they include a wholesale ideological attack on the government. A good example of the latter type of criticism is Begging no Robbery; - ie - Voluntary Contribution ; - or - John Bull escaping a Forced Loan.[69] (PLATE 41) Pitt threatens John Bull with a blunderbus which rests upon two sticks (perhaps parodying the tripod design for the constitution in a plate of 1774).[70] Beside Pitt's side is a paper linking voluntary contribution with taxation. John Bull has no choice but to pay up, and he is seen progressing from "Constitution Hill" to "Slavery Slough" by "Beggary Corner". This print echoes many of the traditional grievances, it attacks: greedy politicians, Dundas, Pitt, Burke and the Duke of Portland; taxation; and ministerial usurpation of power, indicated by "Standing Army" and John's progress away from "Constitution Hill". Interestingly poverty is highlighted as the road to slavery, a concept that had some support from the material and commerce-minded merchant and manufacturing classes in London.[71]

The constitution is also the "contrast" to political "corruption" in a print of 1795, The Political Locust.[72] (PLATE 42) Pitt as the locust perched on "The Remains of the Old Constitution" devours an (oak) tree representing sinecures and place. He overshadows "Poor Old England" which is beset by various moral, political and religious evils including "Debt", "Unprincipal (sic) Opposition", "War", "Execessive Taxes" "Atheism among(st) the Great" and "Monopoly". A cloud of insects representing "French priests" flies hungrily toward the remains of the tree. Like politicians' pay rises today, increased taxation was especially resented if it was seen to be going into the pockets of the political elite. Cries of "unfair" or "unconstitutional" were directed against the ruling oligarchy.[73]

The antagonism towards Pitt in these prints comes at a time

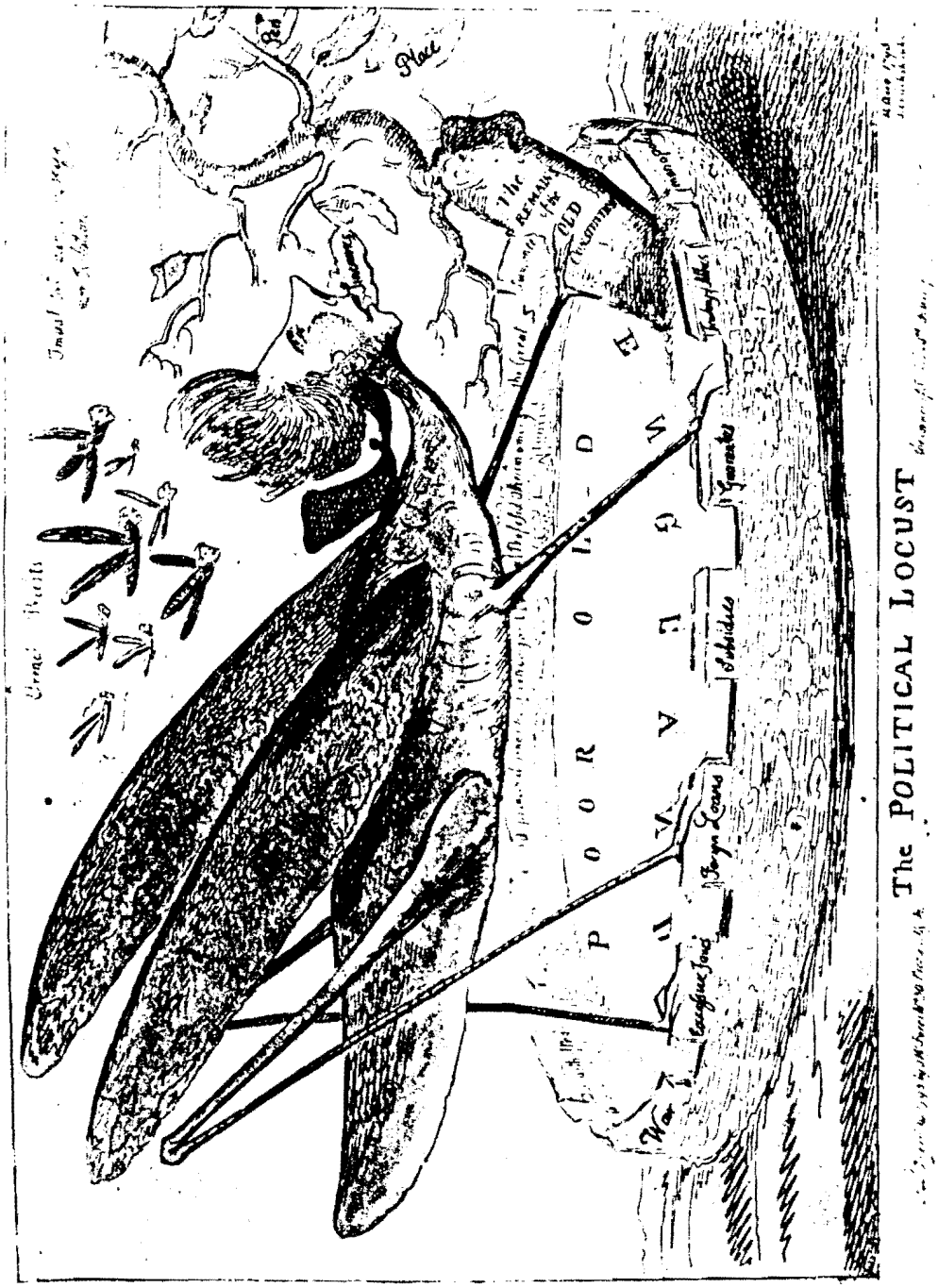


PLATE 42. The Political Locust 8672 (1795).

PLATE 43. Pressages of the Millenium B.M.C. 8655 (1795).

The DISSOLUTION; or The Alchymist producing an Aetherial Representation

PLATE 44. The Dissolution; - or - The Alchymist producing an Aetherial Representation B.M.C. 8805 (1796).

when he was seen as usurping traditional liberties, through the Convention Bills and preparing to meet a long war by increased taxation. Many prints seek to discredit Pitt and his policies. His dictatorial and despotic rule is attacked; a popular device was to depict him riding the Hanoverian Horse (a symbol of the unbalance of the three constitutional powers). In Pressages of the Millenium (PLATE 43) he rides the white horse over the "swinish multitude".[74] He represents death and destruction. The Dissolution; - or - The Alchymist producing an Aetherial Representation (PLATE 44) depicts Pitt dissolving a constitutional parliament by his manipulation of the crown (as a bellows).[75] His aim is perpetual dictatorship, while an army barracks hints ominously at the use of a standing army to maintain his position.

Although Pitt alone is targeted for an attack on arbitrary power, politicians in general were criticised for corruption. In Substitutes for Bread; - or - Right Honorables Saving the Loaves and Dividing the Fishes (PLATE 45) Pitt, Lord Loughborough Dundas, Grenville and Pepper Arden devour the rewards of office while the people starve.[76] John Bull's taxes are depicted as going into sacks of secret service money, used to keep the government in power. Attacks on corruption and place are common throughout the period. Two of the three most popular subjects of caricature were corruption-related. In 1805 the scandal surrounding Trotter's abuse of naval funds rocked the Pitt ministry; Dundas was implicated and is attacked for abuse of place and pensions in over thirty prints.[77] Many reviving the anti-Scottish feeling of the attack on Lord Bute in the 1760's. The single most popular print "incident" was the attack on the Duke of York's supposed corruption regarding the selling of commissions through his mistress Mary-Anne Clarke.[78] Only the concerted anti-Napoleon prints of 1803 and later 1813-14 came anywhere near

PLATE 45. Substitutes for Bread; - or - Right Honorables Saving the Loaves and Dividing the Fishes B.M.C. 8707 (1795).

these two themes in sheer numerical popularity.

The main political concerns throughout 1793-1814 were the same as traditional political rhetoric but they were intensified by war. Higher and more unequal taxes to meet the cost of war and Pitt's oppressive legislation to counter internal threat were two areas in which war provided a stimulus for attacks on corruption. Ministerial corruption with regard to elections, places, sinecures and pensions were revived during low periods of the war from 1805-7 and 1809-10. Unlike the Second World War in which Churchill played an important role in leading and encouraging national consensus, the politicians during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars provided a target for national dissatisfaction. Although this anti-government feeling was not unpatriotic, its opposition to war policies allowed a dispersal of national energies. These energies were often channelled into local patriotic activity such as volunteering.[79]

However, the wars of 1793-1814 did help delineate ideals that were acceptable to all classes. Both Britannia and the constitution helped promote nationalistic conceptions. They appealed to all sections of society, although not always for the same reasons. As they became reduced to symbols rather than ideological arguments they could be manipulated to support a wide range of social groups. With the trend away from internal liberal nationalism to more militant external nationalism these groups appeared superficially united. Yet under this surface solidarity, coalesced around support for the symbols of Britannia and the constitution, underlying divisions of class remained. This was the climate that produced the metamorphosis of John Bull.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. For a consideration of British insular superiority see Cunningham, "The language of patriotism" pp 10-11 or H. T. Dickinson, Caricatures and the Constitution)Cambridge, 1986) pp 23-4.
2. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 93.
3. Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" p 20, Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 91.
4. Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" p 20
5. B.M.C. 8287.
6. The portrayal of Britannia as an innocent victim was a common device see Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 95.
7. B.M.C. 9513. (1803)
8. B.M.C. 9960, (1803). For other repulsive Britannias see B.M.C. 9218, (1798), 9895, (1802).
9. B.M.C. 8428.
10. B.M.C. 9284,(1798).
11. B.M.C. 9002, (1797).
12. B.M.C. 8469.
13. B.M.C. 9546.
14. B.M.C. 10069, (1803) see also B.M.C. 10094, (1803) and 10244, (1804).
15. B.M.C. 10536.
16. B.M.C. 10421.
17. B.M.C. 10276, (1804) and 9987, 10012, (1803).
18. B.M.C. 10439, 10442.
19. B.M.C. 10763.
20. B.M.C. 11736, (1811).
21. B.M.C. 12275 also 12251 and 12298.
22. B.M.C. 12233.
23. B.M.C. 8320, (1793).
24. B.M.C. 10424 see also 10436.
25. B.M.C. 10757.
26. B.M.C. 8681 see also 9002, (1797), 9712, (1801).
27. B.M.C. 9895 see also 9962, 9972, (1803).
28. B.M.C. 10244.
29. B.M.C. 11328, (1809). For other prints in which Briannia appeals for national unity see B.M.C. 8825, (1796), 9021, (1797), 9735, (1801).
30. B.M.C. 9260 and 9542.
31. Britannia birches Napoleon in B.M.C. 9987, 10012 and opposes him in B.M.C. 10061, 10069, 10094, 10133.
32. B.M.C. 10012.
33. B.M.C. 10260.
34. B.M.C. 11003.
35. B.M.C. 12011.
36. For the development of the lion as a symbol for England see Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 96-7.
37. See B.M.C. 10068, 10018.
38. B.M.C. 10432, 10433.
39. B.M.C. 11902 and 11905.
40. B.M.C. 12200.
41. For an Englishmans belief in his constitution see Jarrett. England in the Age of Hogarth pp 14-15 or Norman Gash, Pillars of Government (London, 1986) p 3.

42. The importance of the Magna Carta is considered in Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 127-8.

32. B.M.C. 8284.

44. B.M.C. 10276.

45. B.M.C. 8711 see also an imitation of 1814, B.M.C. 12037.

46. Magna Carta is burnt by radicals in B.M.C. 8624, (1795), 8826, (1796) and over thrown by the French in B.M.C. 9180, (1798).

47. B.M.C. 10013 it is also used as a rallying point in B.M.C. 10103, (1803) and as a restorative in B.M.C. 10244, (1804).

48. For a brief description of Burdettite radicalism see Emsley, British Society and the French Wars pp 149-152. Its popularity is recorded in Cunningham, "The language of patriotism" p 16 while its relationship with the prints is considered in B.M.C. vol VIII p XXXII.

49. B.M.C. 11540, (1810) Burdett's association with the Magna CArta was depicted in six other prints B.M.C. 11537, 11538, 11553, 11558, 11562, 11563, (1810). His campaign was also associated with freedom of the press see B.M.C. 11531, 11563, (1810).

50. B.M.C. 11558.

51. B.M.C. 11338, (1809).

52. Atherton discusses the freedom of the press and early eighteenth century caricature in Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 68-83. For a more briefer comment from George see B.M.C. vol 9 p XIV.

53. For a selection see B.M.C. 8686, 8693, 8698, 8701, 8710.

54. B.M.C. 8709.

55. B.M.C. 8706.

56. B.M.C. 8780.

57. The balance of powers supposedly ensured the stability of the English constitution.

58. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 126-7.

59. B.M.C. 9039.

60. B.M.C. 9214.

61. B.M.C. 10744.

62. B.M.C. 8424 see also for other pillar constitutions B.M.C. 8834, (1796), 10738, (1807).

63. B.M.C. 9002.

64. B.M.C. 10738.

65. The reform movements are discussed at some length in Joana Innes, "Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movements in the later eighteenth century " (unpublished paper). She argues that constitutional reform was intimately related to moral reform.

66. The campaign against taxation is described in J. E. Cookson, The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England 1793-1815 pp 74-6, 78-83.

67. Ibid pp 77-9.

68. Ibid pp 77-8.

69. B.M.C. 8842, (1796) for other ideological prints on taxation see B.M.C. 8669, 8687, (1795), 9162, (1698).

70. B.M.C. 5240.

71. This connection was part of the idea complex that associated the French with slavery and poverty and the English with freedom and prosperity see above ch 2

72. B.M.C. 8672.

73. Cookson, The Friends of Peace pp 76, 82-3. For attacks on Place and pensions during the early part of the war see for a selection

B.M.C. 8654, 8707, (1795), 9013, 9046, (1797), 9177, (1798).

74. B.M.C. 8655, (1795).

75. B.M.C. 8805, (1796) for other examples of Pitts usurption of power see B.M.C. 8644, (1795), 8812, (1796), 9032, (1797).

76. B.M.C. 8707, (1795).

77. For a selection of examples of the attack on Dundas see 10381, 10388, 10393, 10403, (1805), 10575, (1806).

78. For a selection on the York-Clarke scandal see above notes p 88 no 35

79. The social tensions and patriotic activity of the volunteers is discussed in J. E. Cookson, "The English volunteer movement of the French wars, 1793-1815: some contexts" (unpublished paper) pp 9-14 and also S. C. Smith, "Loyalty and opposition in the Napolecnic wars: the Impact of the local militia 1807-15" Oxford D. Phil Thesis (1984) pp 6-7.

CHAPTER FIVE

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS - THE METAMORPHOSIS OF JOHN BULL

Although John Bull is best known as a cartoon image, his origin can be traced to a series of five pamphlets written by John Arbuthnot during 1699-1712.[1] Arbuthnot's tales were immediately popular and highly allegorical. They provided the basis of John Bull's character on which later cartoonists were to build. The original John Bull was honest and bold, physically strong and fond of plain dealing. He is inherently distrustful of the French and their "monkey" ways symbolised by Lewis Baboon. These characteristics identify him with common Englishmen, and, like them, John has his faults. He is easily duped or swayed in his opinions and his appeal is further reduced by a choleric temper. At the centre of John's character is his xenophobia, and this is consistently portrayed.

From Arbuthnot's beginnings John Bull became, after much spasmodic and uncertain progress, the national jingoistic hero of the Victorians.[2] John's first appearance in print was not until 1762, almost half a century after his conception. Nor was he the only embodiment of the "true born Englishman". The art and literature of the eighteenth century abounds in variations of the simple, honest, blunt Englishman.[3] These sterotypes portray the durable virtues of country life. John too at first is usually a countryman, often a simple or loutish yokel.[4] He labours constantly (if patriotically) under the burdens of taxation and politics and symbolises the common working man. This early image was not as we might expect intrinsically sympathetic. The purchasers of the cartoons were both urban and

John Bull as he sat in his old Easy Chair.
An Alarmist came to him & said in his Ear.
"A Corsican Thief has just slipt from his quarters!
"And comes to Ravish your Wives & your Daughters!—
"Let him come & be D—d!" then roar'd out John Bull.
"With my Crab stick assured I will fracture his Scull."
"Or I'll squeeze the vile reptile twixt my Finger & Thumb."
"Make him stink like a Bug if he dares to presume."

(Alarmist) "They say a full Thousand of Flatbottom'd Boats
Each a Hundred & fifty have Warriors afloat.
All fully determin'd to feast on your Lands.
So I fear you will find full enough on your hands."

"John smiling arose upright as a post.
"I've a Million of Friends bravely guarding my Coast
"And my Ally Neptune will give them a Lift
"And prevent the mean rascals to come here a Shift."

PLATE 46. John Bull and the Alarmist B.M.C. 10088 (1803).

upperclass while the plight of the grotesque ugly John Bull was just as likely to arouse feelings of amusement and self congratulation as pity.[5]

Visually the image of John Bull in the period 1793-1814 owes much to the conventions of earlier caricaturists. Physiognomy and costume were used as a common artistic device to define the position and nature of a character. John as representative of the common people was usually depicted as coarse and indolent while both his expression and his manners lack refinement.[6] One example of how these caricaturing conventions remained even when the role of John Bull changed is John Bull and the Alarmist (PLATE 46) a print of 1803.[7] John's features are coarse and unpleasing and his wrinkled gaiters suggest the humble farmer. His stance is wide-legged and inelegant. At the same time John's role is aggressive and triumphant as he dismisses with contempt the alarmist's fear of invasion. The visual imagery surrounding him is positive, he has just arisen from a chair on which the Royal Arms are engraved, indicating that it is a throne, while in one hand he holds a tankard which displays a crown. Despite his plebian veneer the John Bull of this print represents George III.[8]

The tradition of cartoon convention also extends to John's waistline. Even when groaning under the burdens of taxation and the high cost of living John is usually depicted as grotesquely fat.[9] To some extent this perception of grotesqueness exists as a difference between eighteenth and twentieth century aesthetics. John's stomach has developed from a deliberate emphasis on gastronomic chauvenism. His stoutness serves principally as a reminder of English superiority, especially in comparison with the French.

By the 1790's John portrayal as the oppressed and wretched

victim was being supplemented by an image of the "bovine Briton".[10] The bovine image is a complex metaphor of the position of the common man.[11] The bull can stand either for virility or, as in the case of a more domesticated animal, passivity and the bearing of burdens. The role of the "bovine Bull" is almost completely passive although he could be roused if mis-managed by politicans or goaded by external threat.[12] The image of the "bovine Bull" is mainly negative; he stands uncomplainingly and steadfast but is still stupid and put-upon. Even when successful in some undertaking his understanding is small and his manners grotesque. These characteristics define the common man and to them had some positive value.[13] A distrust of cleverness and subtlety is one of the characteristics of the plain dealer.

Within the first decade of the war, from 1793-1802, the image and role of John Bull remained relatively stable. In John Bull's progress of 1793 Gillray introduces us to the stout and comfortable family of Mr Bull (a substantial farmer).[14] John patriotically enlists in the regulars, an act that from its cartoon treatment is viewed with approbation rather than approval. John's fortunes decline with war until in the last scene he returns to his thin and ragged family as a maimed cripple. Like most of Gillray's prints the satire is double-edged. He pokes fun at the un-thinking patriotism of the common people and their enthusiasm for war as well as harshly depicting the horrors to be expected from such a conflict.

The number of prints in which John Bull appears during 1793 is small. Surprisingly this number is equally divided in depicting John in active and passive roles. John in The Englishman and Frenchman [15] invites a scruffy sans-culotte to "be damned!" while a choleric John bullies the Dutch into fighting in John Bull in a

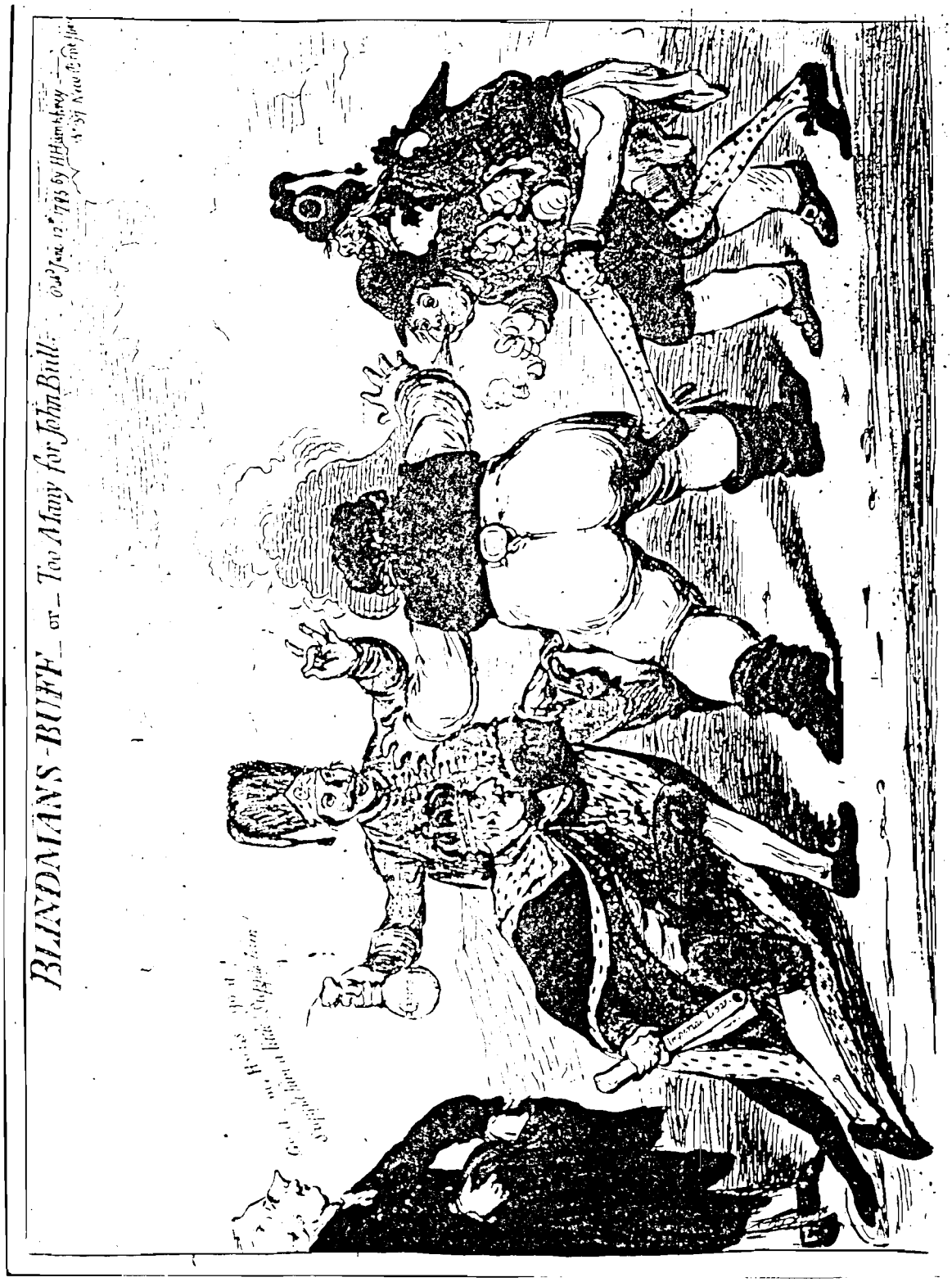


PLATE 47. Blindmans Buff - or - Too Many for John Bull B.M.C. 8658 (1795).

Rage Forcing Nic Frog to Fight Against his will.[16] John's concerns this year are external; he is a victim of French aggression and fights against Frenchmen rather than English politicians.

The number of prints in which John Bull appears is again small in 1794. He appears only in a passive role.[17] John's oppressors are not only the French but also the allies, as in The Faith of Treaties exemplified or John Bull's last effort to oblige his false friends.[18] Here, John, as well as standing for the common soldier who has to bear the burden of war, is also a symbol for the British nation as a whole. It is this ability of John Bull to stand as a symbol for the common people and the British nation concurrently that has to a certain extent obscured John's role as a national hero.

By 1795 the strain of war was being felt by the British economy. Rising prices, taxes and the unpopularity of Pitt's war policies provide the major themes oppressing John Bull in the prints.[19] In Blindmans Buff - or - Too Many for John Bull [20] (PLATE 47) these themes are combined by Gillray. John, a stout shock headed yokel is set upon by the allies who rob him of "loans" and "subsidies". A Frenchman delivers a swift kick to John's rear. Pitt looks on in approval while searching John's jacket for further funds. This print is a typical "John the victim" type. John is helpless and put upon but it is his own shortsightedness and stupidity that have allowed him to be victimised. The common man in this print is an easy victim for the political elites of Britain and Europe.

Pitt is by far the biggest oppressor of the year, and especial outcry was raised by the perceived curtailment of the common man's traditional liberty, freedom of speech. Although in three prints the same image of a padlocked jaw is used to indicate John's oppression, the visual image of John Bull himself differs widely. In the first

PLATE 48. A Freeborn Englishman B.M.C. 8710 (1795).

A LOCKD JAW for JOHN BULL

PLATE 49. A Locked Jaw for John Bull B.M.C. 8693 (1795).

PLATE 50. A Freeborn Englishman B.M.C. 8711 (1795).

PLATE 51. French Liberty British Slavery (detail) B.M.C. 8145 (1792).

PLATE 52. The Zenith of French Glory; - The Pinnacle of Liberty (detail) B.M.C. 8300 (1793).

PLATE 53. The Royal Bull-Fight B.M.C. 8691 (1795).

print by T. French, John is drawn in a realistic style.[21] (PLATE 48) He is miserable and shackled with torn and ragged clothes. The print as such is sympathetic to the oppressions of the common people and appeals to English pride to do something about the situation. West's print A Locked Jaw for John Bull (PLATE 49) is less sympathetic towards the common people.[22] John is portrayed as a sturdy and placid citizen. He allows a much thinner and weaker Pitt to fix a gigantic padlock through his lips. In this print the image of John Bull is as much that of the "bovine Briton" as that of the wretched victim. In A Free Born Englishman (PLATE 50), an imitation by an unknown cartoonist, the treatment of John Bull is least sympathetic.[23] The image of John Bull is visually similar to some of Gillray's more grotesque sans-culottes. (PLATES 51, 52) John is thin and ragged, the padlock on his lip reads "No Grumbling".

In the majority of prints of 1795 John's victim status is without hope of improvement, but in one radical print the Royal Bull-Fight (PLATE 53) he manages to overthrow his aggressors.[24] At a glance the Royal Bull-Fight seems like the others. John (symbolised by a Bull) is attacked and wounded by Pitt as a picador riding the white horse of Hanover (a symbol of his usurpation of arbitrary power.) However in the accompanying dialogue it is clear that the stoicness of the "multitude" is limited and if pushed too far they would be capable, like the French, of overthrowing the established order. The print is confrontational, presenting as two poles the political elite and the common people. Predominantly anti-Pitt it echoes the popular awareness of revolutionary power.

Throughout 1796 and 1797 John Bull continued to be depicted as at the mercy of taxes and politicians.[25] The burdens of war, especially increasing taxation, were the most popular targets.

PLATE 54. Opening of the Budget; - or - John Bull giving his Breeches to save his Bacon B.M.C. 8836 (1796).

PLATE 55. The Inexhaustable Mine B.M.C. 9025 (1797).

The TREE of CORRUPTION, – with John Bull hard at work.

PLATE 56. The Tree of Corruption, - with John Bull hard at work

B.M.C. 8817 (1796).

In Opening of the Budget; or John Bull giving his breeches to save his Bacon (PLATE 54) John is a stout yokel.[26] He is tricked by Pitt and Dundas into parting with his savings from fear of invasion. John, like the earlier yokels, is an unsympathetic figure whose woes are largely the fault of his own gullibility. His blind patriotism is still seen as a fault rather than a virtue. Taxes are again John's problem in The Inexhaustable Mine (PLATE 55) of 1797.[27] John is a fat ugly "cit" depicted as particularly gross. Pitt, Dundas, Queen Charlotte and George III rob him of his large store of guineas. As in the majority of "taxation" prints, John represents the uncouth majority, those that pay and pay but have virtually no political influence in their misfortunes.

As well as a victim of taxation John suffers from the general misfortunes of war in A will'o the wisp or John Bull in a Bag.[28] Pitt holds out a lantern to guide John from the toils of war. A similar sentiment is expressed in the ironic John Bull and his dog Faithful, in which a blind and crippled Bull burdened by loans is guided along a cliff path by Pitt.[29] Pitt continues to oppress John in 1797.[30] Newton's Tria Juncta in Uno or Ministerial Mode of Paying Triple taxes![31] introduces, like the Royal Bull-Fight, the possibility of revolution. John, as an ass burdened by taxes, exclaims he must either "rise up" or "fall down". John's words are only pipe dreams and he remains as down-trodden as ever. John is more active in The Tree of Corruption, - with John Bull Hard at Work.[32] (PLATE 56) He industriously attempts to pull down a tree representing ministerial corruption. These prints, depicting John in an active or assertive role, are at this stage aimed at a radical audience. That the market for such prints was very much less than those depicting John as a credulous oaf are indicated by their respective levels of occurrence,

PLATE 57. John Bull taking a Luncheon: - or - British Cooks cramming Old Grumble Gizzard with Bonne Chere B.M.C. 9257 (1798).

about ten to one in favour of the oaf.

At the height of the invasion scare of 1798 Johnny continued to be a cipher for internal rather than external politics. He is again the victim of taxation and especially the tax upon income.[33] A Visitor To John Bull For the Year 1799 Or The Assess'd Taxes Taking Their Leave depicts John as a fat "cit" wearing the ill-fitting wig of the artisan.[34] He turns in terror towards a large demon, the tax upon income. Four smaller demons, representing the assessed taxes, depart very much obliged to Mr Bull.

Predominantly a victim in most of the prints of 1798, John is occasionally allowed to enjoy the fruits of victory. Gillray's John Bull taking a Luncheon: - or - British Cooks, cramming Old Grumble Gizzard with Bonne Chere (PLATE 57) depicts an obese and grotesque Bull who is being fed by British Admirals with dishes of French and Spanish frigates.[35] The ugliness of John Bull, in contrast with the nobleness of the admirals, is ironic. John as the "bovine Briton" does not appear worthy of such successes. The victory of the Nile did produce some positive Bulls, but these remained outnumbered by the negative image.[36]

John, as his alter-ego Jack Tar, also asserts his military powers in two prints of 1799.[37] Like 1798 the positive prints are outnumbered by those in which John is passive or oppressed. He is beset by subsidies, French fashions and rising prices.[38] John is again a victim when the demon taxes return in John Bull Troubled with the Blue Devils, with the evils of taxation remaining a popular theme.[39] He is still fooled by politicians and oppressed by war.[40]

The number of prints on John Bull during 1800 is small. They represent an interesting contrast to previous years. Although in three prints he is the victim of corrupt politicians, war dearth

and international failure, in John Bull getting the better of the Blue Devils he is assertive and successful.[41] John, a sturdy artisan vanquishes dearth (the devils) by measures against forestallers. The role of the common people in supporting the British economy is also praised in Times as they were Times as they are, a design in two compartments in which a yokel who is a dependent farmer is seen as the salt of the earth in contrast with a modish but profiteering farmer.[42]

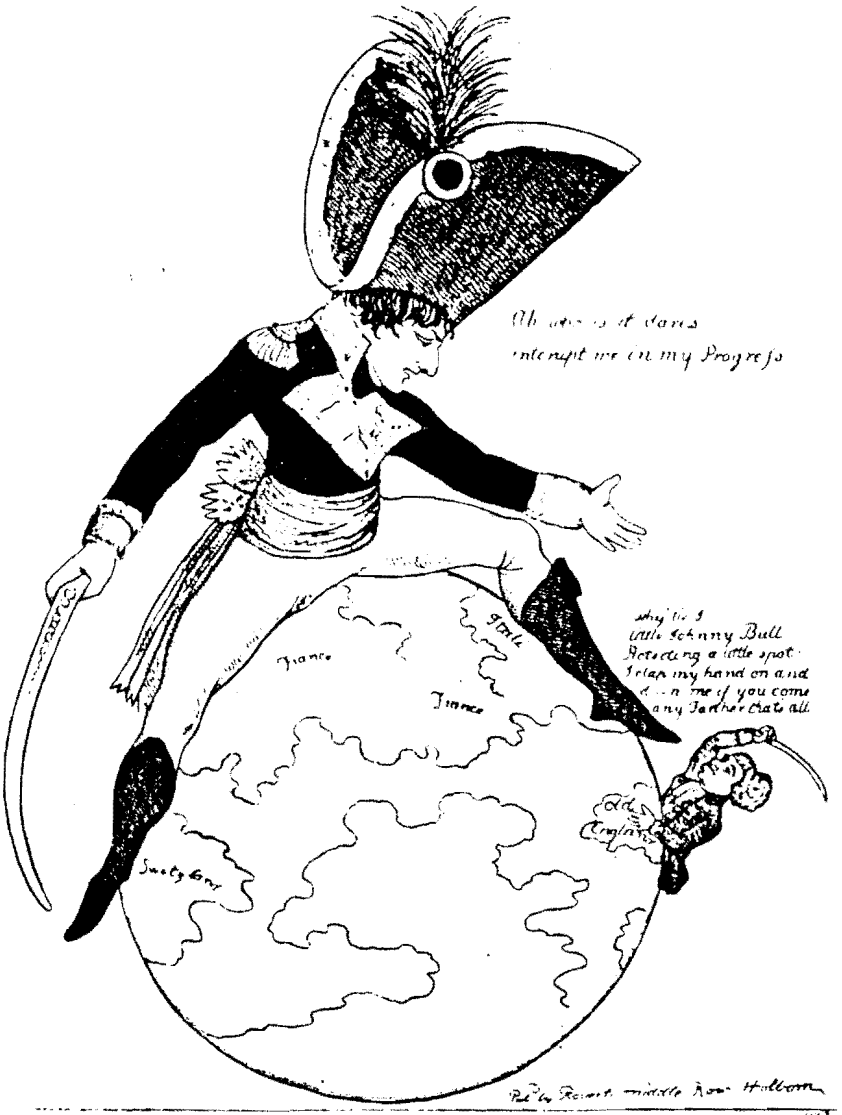
In 1801, as the economic situation worsened and pressures for peace became stronger, John was once more a farmer defeating the corn monopolists.[43] This was to be John's only victory of the year and the bulk of the prints depict him as oppressed and helpless under the impact of war.[44] The coming of peace was seen as advantageous in John Visited with the blessings of Peace.[45] John a fat happy yokel rejoices at the arrival of "Peace and Plenty". He is still the credulous fool of earlier prints; the peace is not of his making, and, although he benefits from it, his understanding of the consequences of peace is quietly ridiculed.[46]

It soon became clear that the terms of the peace were unfavourable to England. The obtuseness of the multitude in seeing only the silver lining and not the cloud found its way into caricature. In 1802 A Merry Go Round depicts John (as a symbol for the nation) dancing to a tune of Napoleon's piping.[47] Long Expected come at last or John Bull disappointed at his Crippled Visitor by Williams attacks the peace comprehensively.[48] John and his wife, viciously caricatured as brutish yokels, are disappointed at the arrival of the peace they had so longed for. Overall, John Bull in the peace prints is a stupid "bovine Briton" whose intellect cannot be expected to understand the intricacies of foreign policy.

As well as being exploited by his own government John is occasionally exploited by the French. He is shown rushing eagerly towards Paris in order to take advantage of the peace.[48] Naturally the gullible Bull is duped by the French. In The Consumer Warehouse or a Great Man Nailed to the Counter John, a fat ugly "cit", belligerently confronts a handsome and soldierly Napoleon.[49] The print satirises the peace treaty as well as the stupidity of John Bull. His depiction is not entirely negative as his steadfastness and intransigence are praised.

Overall the portrayal of John Bull in the prints up to 1802 underwent remarkably little change, especially in light of the complete turnaround of imagery in 1803. Although John is occasionally the hero of the print as an active and intelligent citizen, he is more often the foolish and grotesque common man. The number of prints in which he is passive and oppressed outnumbers the prints in which he is active or aggressive. He has occasionally represented the nation when a print deals with foreign policy, but in internal affairs he remains the symbol of the British as subjects, the common people. As such he fills a confrontational role not against the French but against the British urban political elite. As of yet, apart from the corn crises in 1800-1, the role of the average man has been seen as insignificant or even as a hindrance to Britain's struggle against Napoleon.

In 1803 the renewal of hostilities and the development of the conflict into a war of national survival catapaulted John Bull to a key role in the prints. Over 25% of the total print output for the year is concerned with the affairs of John and his family. These prints portray John in a predominantly aggressive role. The popularity of Napoleon as a personification of France depicted as



A STOPPAGE to a STRIDE over the GLOBE

PLATE 58. A Stoppage to a Stride over the Globe B.M.C. 9981 (1803).

an image of fun or terror meant an increased demand for a British personification to appear as Napoleon's antoganist. The King and the politicians had a limited appeal while Britannia was traditionally an abstract passive figure.[50] John's characteristics of steadfastness and consistant dislike of the French were now needed nationally and his cartoon image was laundered as pressures to create a unified national opposition were increased.[51]

Alongside John the victim and "bovine Bull" the impact of war produced a new cartoon image for John Bull. This image depicts John as the victorious hero in the struggle against Napoleonic France.[52] The role of the hero sits uneasily on John Bull's shoulders and he is often a truimphant bully. Indeed part of the essential character of John Bull is a recoil from flashy heroics,and he is frequently portrayed as the underdog so dear to British affections.[53] (PLATE 58) His characteristics of honesty, simplicity, xenophobia and thick-headed resistance are now promoted to national virtues. It is during the decade 1800-10 that John becomes a symbol of the British nation, uniting the images of subject and ruler. To unite these images it was necessary to have an external enemy,while when used as an internal figure John remained a subject.

The image of John Bull in defying Napoleon was varied; at times he was relatively defenceless, but stout-hearted as in An Attempt to Swallow the World.[54] John an elderly "cit" verbally defies a grotesque but powerful Napoleon. John is also a "cit" in John Bull shewing the Corsican Monkey,but his treatment is less favourable.[55] He is fat and ugly while pretensions to military prowess are indicated by a huge bicorne and military coat. In both prints he represents England,but in the first he is an underdog and in the second a bully. The anti-hero image of the underdog and the bully works to reassure

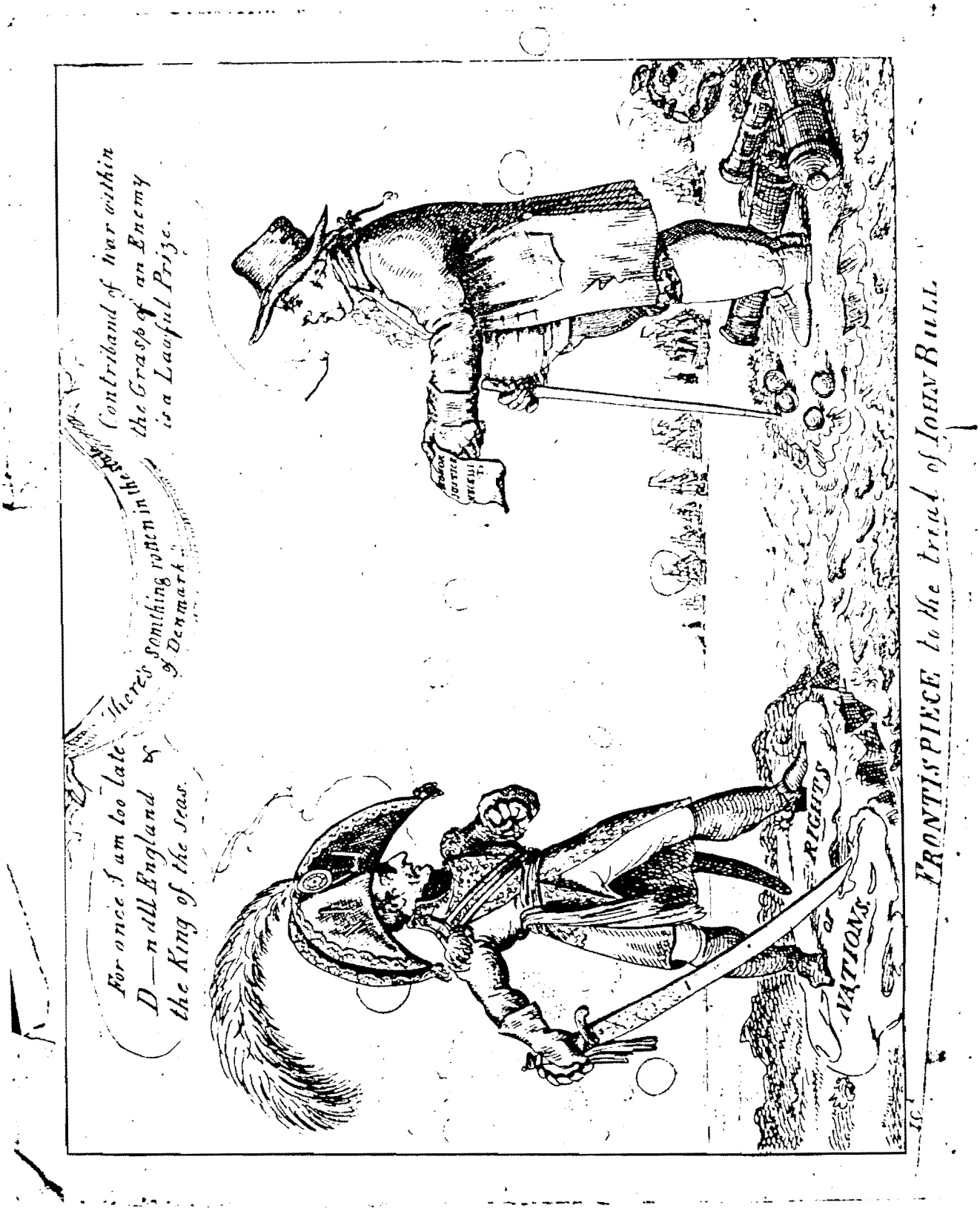


PLATE 59. Frontispiece to the trial of Iohn Bull B.M.C. 10003 (1803).

popular opinion, if these two types can defy Napoleon anybody can.

As an antagonist of Napoleon, John is often a yokel. The image of the stock-headed yokel is a creation of Gillray's and was followed by I. Cruikshank, Ansell, Newton and Woodward.[56] Boney in Possession of the Millstone depicts an uncouth John in smock and gaiters.[57] John's country shrewdness is on show as he comments on the predicament of Hanover (the millstone). The yokel in Buonaparte 48 Hours After Landing is less intelligent.[58] He is depicted as a volunteer and his coarse features and loose hair form an anomalous juxtaposition with his smart military coat. The print comments with ridicule on the naive patriotism of the masses. At times the yokel was a figure of admiration, as in How to Stop an Invader.[59] John a brawny and not unhandsome yokel stands stalwartly between Napoleon and the road to London. The print emphasises the simple country virtues of the yokel, his patriotism is praised rather than ridiculed and his steadfastness is admired. Although the yokel embodied traditional English characteristics, he had been for too long a figure of fun in the cartoons to be readily accepted as a cipher for all that was laudable in British resistance to Napoleon. In the period of crisis the cartoonists sought more positive sterotypes.

John was now frequently depicted as Jack Tar, who, while representing simple English virtues (like the yokel), was also identified with the positive symbolism of British naval might.[60] John was also occasionally portrayed as a bull or dog.[61] These symbols were easily adapted as ciphers for the nation. John is also increasingly a man of substance, an urban or rural gentleman. He begins to be associated with other "true born Englishmen", such as the fox-hunting country squire. In Frontispiece to the trial of John Bull (PLATE 59) John is a stout but well dressed citizen. His ruffles and knee breeches

PLATE 60. Wastepaper B.M.C. 9989 (1803).

proclaim the old fashioned gentleman while his speech is also characteristic of an upperclass or perhaps legal image.[62] Waste paper (PLATE 60) shows a similarly dressed John Bull in a more belligerent attitude.[63] This change in John Bull's image is an indication of his adoption by the political elites.

Once established in a positive role Mr Bull continued to be employed as an antagonist of France,although never to the same extent as in 1803. In 1804 John again defeats Napoleon in Harlequin's last skip.[64] John is a truimphant bully,an image indicated by his size and bludgeon. At the same time he is drawn as a stout, handsome and fashionably dressed country gentleman. The juxtaposition of images reverses the conventions of earlier prints in which an ugly yokel fills a noble role,and indicates the breakdown of caricaturing sterotypes and the acceptance of John as a symbol for all Britons.

As well as asserting his prowess over Napoleon, John now begins to turn the tables on the politicians. The State Waggoner and John Bull - or - the Waggon too much for the Donkeys (PLATE 61) and its imitation The unskillfull Waggoner or the State Waggon Bogged!!! introduce a politically astute and aware Bull.[65] Mainly satires on the incompetency of Addington's government,they show John Bull as a political force to which the government is forced to turn to for advice. However,John is by no means an established political activist,as prints showing him in a favourable light are more than counter balanced by others in which he is still the dupe of politicians and the victim of their unsuccessful policies.[66] Although John's image has changed the old convention of the simple victim Bull remains along side the new intelligent Bull.

By 1805 the incidence of John Bull's appearance in print has dropped and he appears mainly in a naval role. First, as an opponent

PLATE 61. The State Waggoner and John Bull - or - the Waggon too much for the Donkeys B.M.C. 10232 (1804).

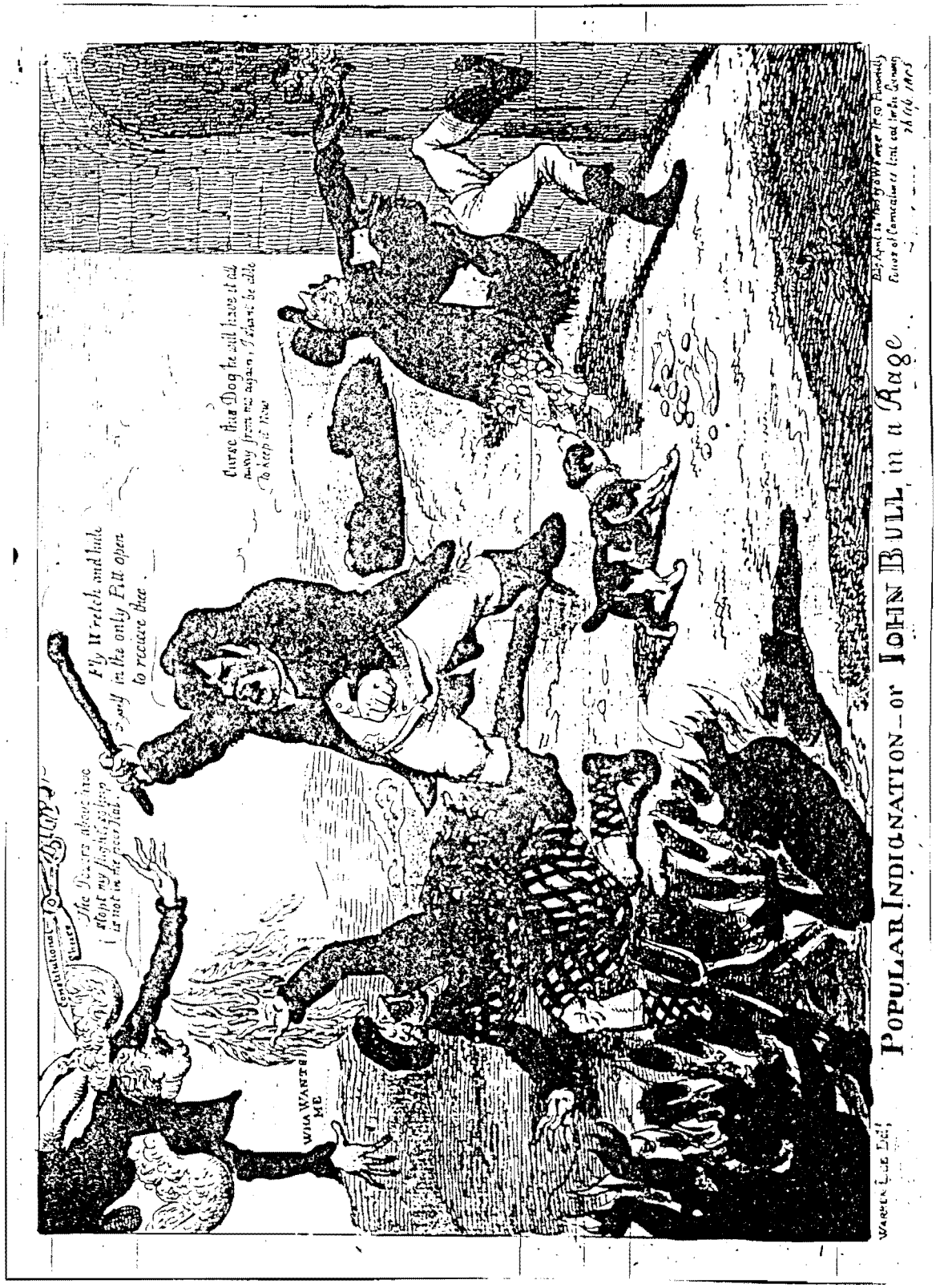


PLATE 62. Popular Indignation - or - John Bull in a Rage B.M.C. 10393 (1805).

of Melville regarding the naval scandal surrounding Trotter's supposed abuse of funds, as in Popular Indignation - or John Bull in a Rage.[67] (PLATE 62) John is a sturdy assertive countryman who is out to avenge Trotter's abuses. To do so John is credited with intelligence and understanding. Secondly John appears at the end of the year as a victor of Trafalgar.[68]

During 1806 the number of John Bull prints was again exceptionally high.[69] This rise was mainly due to a resurgence of victim prints as the economic strain of the war began to hit hard again, and a resurgence of John's political exploitation in the crises of 1806-7. Once more John is at the mercy of corrupt politicians in Le Diable Boiteux - or - The Devil upon Two Sticks Conveying John Bull to the Land of Promise.[70] Fox as the Devil misleads a fat " cit". Taxes again plague John Bull; he is depicted as starving, or even dead.[71] John's gullibility is revived in John Bull on a Bed of Roses by Williams.[72] Here John, a stout but not grotesque citizen, lies down on a bed of roses only to find it sprinkled with nettles such as "House tax","income tax" and rocks labelled "subsidies" "pensions" and "expedition to Holland".

Interestingly, even when a passive victim of taxation and ministerial mismanagement, John is increasingly depicted as intelligent and perceptive. The "bovine Briton" is replaced by impotent intelligence as in Laudable Secrecy Respecting Peace or John Bull too Inquisitive.[73] John, a fat "cit", is not deceived by speculation of peace, but neither does he have any role in its direction. This role of a perceptive yet helpless Bull is also used in two more prints by Williams in 1806.[74] Like the "bovine Bull", the perceptive impotent Bull symbolises John as a subject. It is used when he is depicted in internal prints and indicates a changing perception of the role

of the subject in political matters.

Altogether, internal rather than external conflicts occupy John Bull throughout 1806. He opposes Napoleon or Russia in only a few prints such as Jack Tars Conversing With Boney on The Blockade of Old England.[75] In this print two British sailors point out the absurdity of the blockade while John Bull agrees, commenting "I cannot help laughing at the whimsical conceit." John's language is more representative, not of the common people but the more intelligent and perspicacious urban elite

If internal matters predominate in 1806, the reverse is true of 1807-8. In Britannia in tribulation for the loss of her Allies or John Bull's advice (PLATE 34) Britannia hastens towards John Bull (a burly sailor) for comfort after the disaster of Tilsit.[76] The print makes a contrast between the roles of John Bull and Britannia. John is the active masculine representation of English characteristics; in this case defiance of Napoleon, while Britannia is a passive symbol of the nation's ideals which need protecting by Bull. Both represent the nation, John as its popular entity and Britannia as its abstract political form.

John is now less frequently a yokel and more often a "cit", as in John Bull making observations on the Comet.[77] (PLATE 22) John is fat and ugly and his face is grotesque and carbuncled. Like the Britannia print, John alone does not represent the complete national entity. He combines with George III and symbols of the navy to express national defiance of Napoleon. He is a sailor himself in Doctor Boney - Bringing the Powers to Pot, or John Bull and his Friends Rather Shy.[78] As a belligerent and burly seaman he refuses to bow down before Napoleon. As in 1803 John is also symbolised by various animals, a bull, a fly and a dog.[79] These symbols represent,

allegorically, the British nation in opposition to Napoleonic France.

Along with the sizable number of prints in which John asserts himself against the French there are a few in which John counters internal opposition. A stout and acute Bull guards his strong box from The "Genius of Elections" in a print of 1807,[80] while in the following year Isaac Cruikshank produced John Bull advising with His Superiors.[81] In this print John's antagonists are the Duke of York and the Prince of Wales. John, a respectable farmer, is undaunted by their position and roundly criticises them for their ungodly (or worse, Roman Catholic) ways. Such is the stature of John that the sympathy lies predominantly with his views.

In contrast, John's simple faith in royalty is portrayed with some sympathy in All the Talents Upset or the High Mettled Hanoverian Grown Restive.[82] John is unusually for 1807 a yokel and is delighted with the overthrow of the Talents. John's view is seen as over simple, the unpopularity of the "Talents" obscuring the spectre of arbitrary power. John's condition is less pleasing in Ministerial Phlebotomy or Bleeding John Bull [83] as ministers drawn as leeches attack a defenceless Bull. John is still consistently, if less frequently, the wretched victim.

In 1809 the Clarke scandal dominated the prints. John's role in the scandal was twofold, active and passive. In John Bull as Justice weighing a Commander, John, a stout citizen, well dressed and blind folded indicating justice, judges in favour of Mary-Anne Clarke.[84] John Bull's active role is not always so restrained. In John Bull Beating the Big Drum John a stout "cit" birches the Duke.[85] Generally John does not believe in the Duke's innocence and this view was in line with popular feeling.

John is not always able to do anything about the matter.

The Prodigal Son by Isaac Cruikshank portrays John's weakness.[86] The Duke as the prodigal son repents before John Bull and George III. John has cut off the Duke's insignia but remains sceptical about his permanent disgrace and expects he will soon be back in favour. John's role is that of intelligent impotence in the face of his political superiors. This impotence extended into frustration at Lord Chatham's debâcle at Flushing, and Chatham is antagonist of John in five prints. In one John as a yokel is stupidly delighted and duped by Chatham.[87] At the other end of the scale an active John berates Chatham for incompetency in two prints.[88] In the middle ground are the remaining prints in which a gloomy John Bull muses over the failure which was "as he fortold".[89] This episode encapsulates in cameo the various cartoon conventions regarding John Bull, the stupid victim, the assertive and independent Briton and the intelligent but impotent common man.

By 1810 the number of prints depicting John Bull was declining. The receding threat of invasion and the growing ennui with war topics meant that John Bull was less in demand as an antagonist of Napoleon. The popularity of Burdett also helped upstage John's role as hero of the common people. During the five years from 1810-14 the popularity of John Bull declined and the number of passive or victim Bull's drew level with the number of aggressive and assertive Bulls. John Bull is more often a cipher only for the common man and not Britain. However the Bull of these five years is not the same Bull as that of the 1790's. In the earlier decade he is usually unintelligent and oppressed, but in the later years, although still oppressed, he is often a perceptive and acute figure. This later Bull arouses sympathy where the earlier Bull aroused amusement and contempt. The improvement in the image of John Bull indicates both the importance

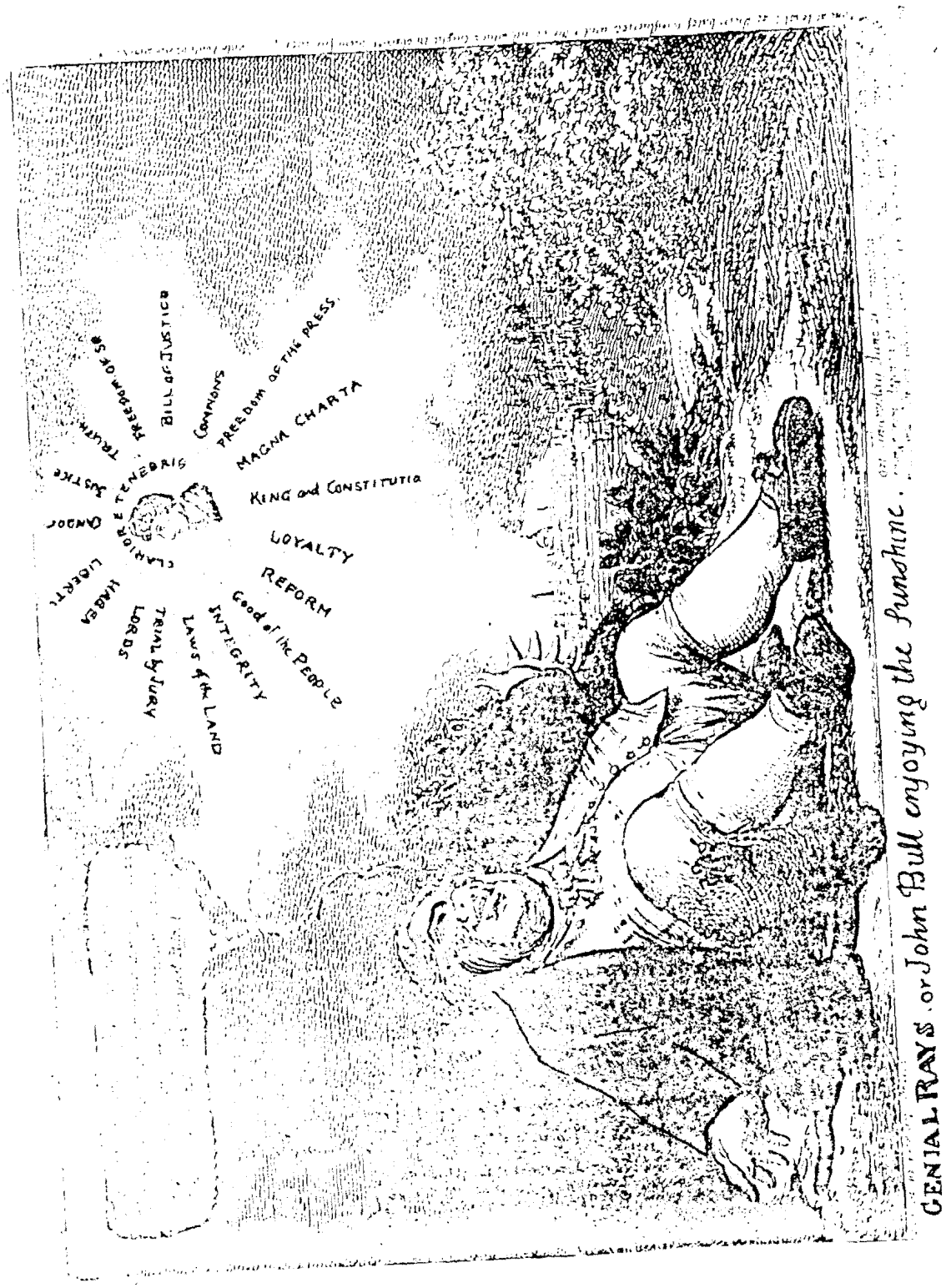


PLATE 63. Genial Rays, or John Bull enjoying the Sunshine B.M.C. 11563 (1810).

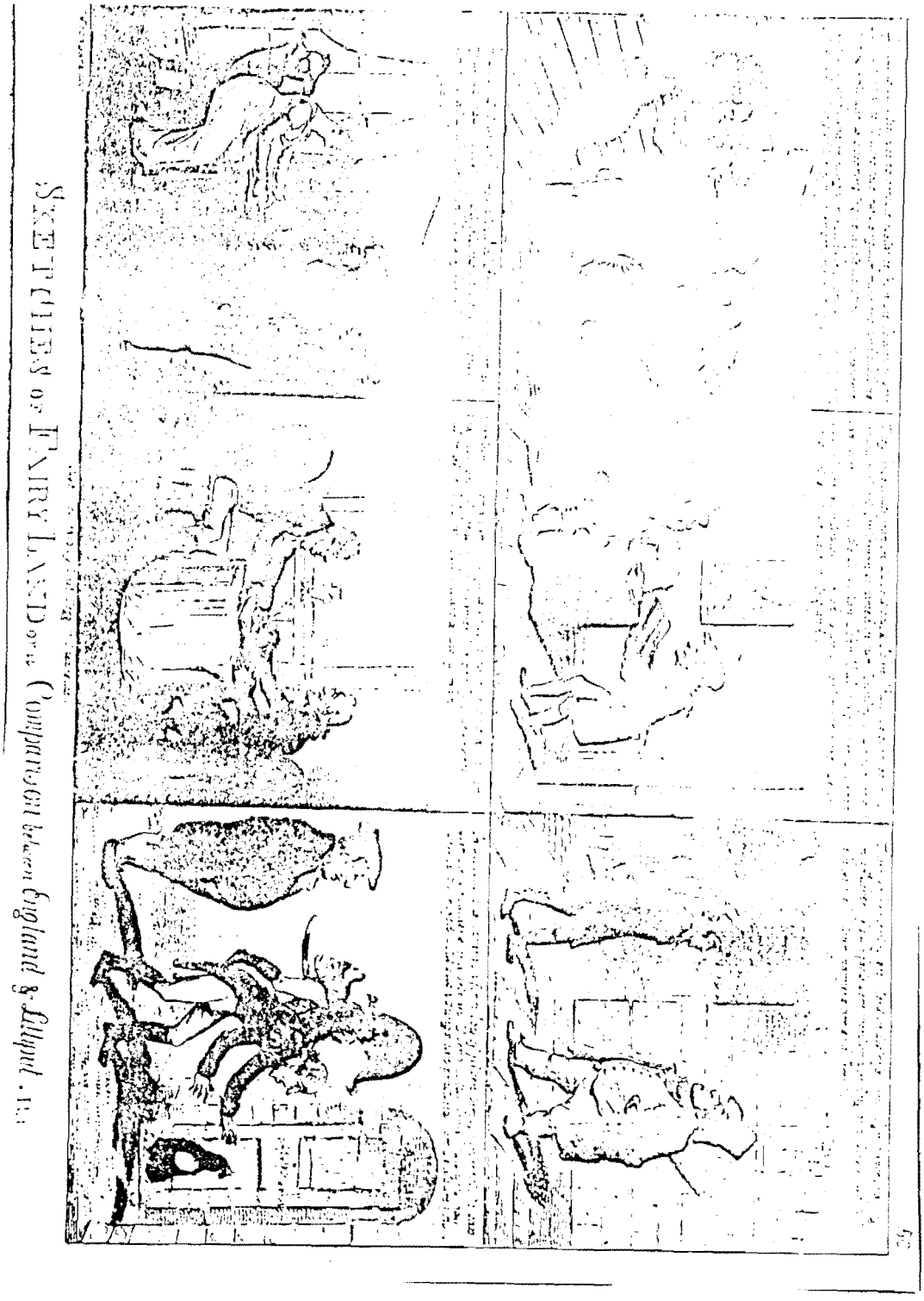


PLATE 64. Sketches of fairyland or a Comparison Between England and Lilliput B.M.C. 11582 (1810).

A FREE BORN ENGLISHMAN!
THE PRIDE OF THE WORLD!
AND THE ENVY OF SURROUNDING NATIONS!!!.

PLATE 65. A Freeborn Englishman B.M.C. 12037 (1813).

and impact of the common people in the defeat of Napoleon and the association of two of their characteristics, xenophobia and steadfastness in the face of opposition, with the national image.

In The Genial rays, or John Bull enjoying the Sunshine.[90] (PLATE 63) John a fat and bovine "cit" luxuriates in the sun of British liberties but in the remaining prints of the year he is not so fortunate. Sketches of fairyland or a Comparisson Between England and Lilliput (PLATE 64), a series of two sketches by Woodward, comprehensively satirise English social and political life.[91] John is a target for the satire by it being ironically indicated that if the unfavourable scenes of Lilliput took place in London he would not stand for it. That such scenes do occur is implied, and John is seen as an ignorant dupe. John's stupidity is revived to such an extent by Heath that a yokel John Bull is depicted as expressing his approval of placemen and pensions.[92]

As the war in Spain successfully progressed and Napoleon's Russian disaster allowed hope of a final victory, John Bull is only infrequently depicted externally. In two prints of 1812 he is symbolised as a dog representing the nation and opposing Napoleon.[93] Surprisingly for a year of national success, he is more frequently a political victim as in Political Bull Baiting.[94] John, a massive bull, is shackled by an iron collar labelled "corrupt" and held down by chains inscribed "tax" (several times), "Spain" and "Portugal". He is ridden by Queen Charlotte and the Prince of Wales. A Free Born Englishman (PLATE 65) of 1813 is a sturdy sympathetic figure.[95] His ragged clothes indicate that he was once a fashionable gentleman, and, even as a victim, he is the hero of this print.

Although the image of John as an assertive and active Englishman has almost disappeared from the prints of 1810-13, the image of impotent

intelligence remains. This intelligence brings him a little relief in John Bull and the Regent from the Fable of the Fox and the Swallow.[96] John is shoulder deep in the "slough of Taxation" and tormented by a swarm of insects with human heads representing ministers. John reasons that a new set of blood sucking ministers would be worse than the old as they will be more greedy for the profits of office. In The Merry Thought or Catholic Question resolved John has the solution.[97] He supports "old George our King" as the "defender of the faith" rather than the unpopular Prince Regent.

The year 1814 sees a return of John as an antagonist of Napoleon. He is a pugnacious "cit" representing England in The Double Humbug or the Devil's Imp Praying for Peace.[98] He is again a "cit" in The Royal Beggars and Iohn Bull Bringing Bony's Nose to the Grindstone.[99] In these prints John represents England. He is usually one of a group of figures (the Allies) and partakes in the spirit of internationalism surrounding the defeat of Napoleon.[100] In 1814 John's two main rivals for the role of national champion are Wellington and the British lion. In one print Political Chess Players, or Boney Bewilder'd - John Bull supporting the Table Wellington represents the political and ruling elites while John represents the rest of the nation.[101] This division emphasises the difference between subject and ruler.

The fact that John Bull's print image changed during the period 1793-1814 is undeniable. The questions that remain to be answered are how far this change was due to the identification of John Bull with national characteristics, and what role, if any, did government attempts to mobilise support in a national concensus have in effecting his image in the prints. Historians have been divided as to when and to what extent did John Bull embody national sentiment. Atherton

considers that John embodied national character in the late eighteenth century, while Mellini and Mathews have suggested that it was not until after the Napoleonic wars that John Bull was "transformed by artists publicists and propagandists" into a "stolid country squire, the embodiment of Bourgeois English and British character." [102]

These two opinions can be resolved if sweeping generalisations are avoided. Certainly from the 1790's on, an admittedly small number of prints portray John Bull as a national character. The war did not create this image; it popularised it. Likewise the image of John as a middle class or bourgeois Englishman begins on a small scale during the war, not after it. John Bull's change of image during the war is neither continuous nor complete. For a brief period in 1803 he is the accepted image of the national hero. At the same time John as a hero co-exists with bovine Bull, John the victim and John the impotent but intelligent subject. Yokel Bull's rub shoulders with artisans, "cits" and gentlemen throughout the period. The major change in John's character is from that of an unintelligent politically naive dupe to an astute follower of politics, and even this change is only partial.

Overall, John's image did improve during the war, and this reflects a change in attitude of the print readership. John is more increasingly an urban rather than rural character and this helps his identification with the metropolitan readership. The urban John is a schizoid character. On top of his traditional country virtues of simplicity, honesty, plain dealing and xenophobia an urban astuteness and political ideology has been added.[103] During the war period these characteristics have been perceived as important to the resistance of Napoleon. Their value has been increasingly accepted by the ruling elites.

The political establishment's belief in the potency of caricature as a weapon of national influence is well established. The Gillray pension and the comments of Fox leave little doubt that caricature was an effective political weapon.[104] Under the dual threat posed to the established order of revolution at home and war abroad, the political elite moved tentatively towards the mobilisation of the country with an appeal to nationalism. The growth of patriotism was seen as a double-edged sword by the government whose policy of divide and rule had proved effective for decades.[105] The xenophobic element of nationalism was the readily available means of the established order to distract attention from internal difficulties and focus attention on France. It was also a spontaneous product of patriotic chauvanism and national danger perceived in the economic and military challenge of France.

The cartoons, with their focus on personalities and tradition of vilification, proved an ideal method for the promotion of anti-French sentiment.[106] John Bull with his history of xenophobia and plain-dealing was an excellent channel for the dissemination of this sentiment. As war progressed, positive symbols of English character were built upon this anti-French basis and the national image of England became clear. The role of John Bull in the building of this image should not be underated. John was used more than any other symbol as an opponent of France, and his improving image embodied many of the characteristics true to the English as a whole, such as courage in the face of adversity, a love of freedom and an impudent sense of humour.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. John Arbuthnot A History of John Bull. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 98-9 discusses the origins of John Bull.

2. For a brief sketch of Johns development see Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises".

3. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth footnotes to p 98.

4. Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" p 21, describes John Bulls appearance. See also Mary Dorothy George, English Political Caricature 1793-1832 (Oxford, 1959) p 22 or John Brewer, The Common People and Politics (Cambridge, 1986) p 15.

5. Brewer, The Common people and Politics p 46 Dickinson Caricatures and the Constitution p 13.

6. Brewer, The Common People and Politics p 46.

7. B.M.C. 10088.

8. B.M.C. vol 8 p 189.

9. B.M.C. vol 7 p XVII.

10. Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" p 21; Brewer, The Common People and Politics p 41.

11. The allegory and symbolism of the bull is discussed in Jarrett, England in the Age of Hogarth p 34.

12. Brewer, The Common People and Politics pp 41-3.

13. Plain dealing, simplicity and bluntness were quite popular characteristics in the eighteenth century see Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" pp 21-2.

14. B.M.C. 8328.

15. B.M.C. 8296.

16. B.M.C. 8299.

17. John is oppressed by the Prince of Wales Debts B.M.C. 8487 and British politicans B.M.C. 8443, 8458, 8496.

18. B.M.C. 8477.

19. For taxes see B.M.C. 8646, 8654, 8664, 8671, 8687; high prices B.M.C. 8664, 8665; war in general B.M.C. 8658, 8654; Pitt and the politicians B.M.C. 8658, 8664, 8686, 8693, 8703, 8710.

20. B.M.C. 8658.

21. B.M.C. 8710.

22. B.M.C. 8711.

23. B.M.C. 8693.

24. B.M.C. 8691.

25. For taxes see for a selection B.M.C. 8795, 8808, 8842, (1796), 9004, 9027, 9043, 9052, (1797) and politicans B.M.C. 8792, 8812, 8843, (1796), 8990, 8998, 9027, 9052, (1797).

26. B.M.C. 8836.

27. B.M.C. 9025.

28. B.M.C. 8792, (1796).

29. B.M.C. 8797.

30. See esspecially B.M.C. 9030, 9046, 8990.

31. B.M.C. 9052.

32. B.M.C. 8817, (1796).

33. See for a selection B.M.C. 9159, 9160, 9229, 9280, 9281, 9283.

34. B.M.C. 9280.

35. B.M.C. 9257 see also 9259.
36. For positive Bulls see B.M.C. 9214, 9268.
37. B.M.C. 9412, 9413.
38. Subsidies, B.M.C. 9419; French fashions, B.M.C. 9428; rising prices, B.M.C. 9429.
39. B.M.C. 9391 see also on taxation B.M.C. 9337, 9338, 9354, 9363, 9391, 9400, 9432.
40. B.M.C. 9364, 9400, 9432.
41. B.M.C. 9553.
42. B.M.C. 9552.
43. B.M.C. 9721.
44. For war and dearth see B.M.C. 9695, 9713, 9714, 9730.
45. B.M.C. 9732, for other prints depicting John's limited understanding of peace see B.M.C. 9727, 9737, 9736.
46. B.M.C. 9847.
47. B.M.C. 9852.
48. B.M.C. 9864.
49. B.M.C. 9866.
50. In 1803 Napoleon's antagonists were: John Bull, (57 prints); Britannia and/or her Lion (12 prints); George III, (10 prints); Pitt, (2 prints).
51. B.M.C. vol 8 p XVI.
52. Johns new heroic role is considered in Brewer, Caricatures and the Common People pp 42-3; Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" pp 22-3 and Roy Porter, "Seeing the past" Past and Present no 118 (February 1988) p 198.
53. The element of the anti-hero/underdog is raised by George in B.M.C. vol 8 p XVI.
54. B.M.C. 9977, (1803).
55. B.M.C. 10089, (1803).
56. B.M.C. vol 7 p XVII.
57. B.M.C. 10030, (1803).
58. B.M.C. 10041, (1803).
59. B.M.C. 10042, (1803).
60. For John as a Jolly Tar see B.M.C. 9990, 10000, 10033, 10036, 10048, 10056, 10057, 10059, (1803).
61. John as a Bull, B.M.C. 10133, 10091, 10035, (1803) and as a dog B.M.C. 10080, 10015, (1803).
62. B.M.C. 10003, for other prints depicting John as a gentleman see B.M.C. 9989, 10064, 10142, (1803).
63. B.M.C. 9989, (1803).
64. B.M.C. 10270.
65. B.M.C. 10232 and 10233, for other political astute Bulls see B.M.C. 10245, 10248, (1804).
66. John as a dupe, B.M.C. 10255, 10259, 10266, 10271, (1804).
67. B.M.C. 10393.
68. For John and Trafalgar see B.M.C. 10423, 10441.
69. Just under 25% of the years total print output, a big jump from 1805 (9%) and 1804 (14%), my figs.
70. B.M.C. 10525. For other prints in which John is at the mercy of corrupt politicians see 10539, 10540, 10542, 10567, 10577.
71. Starving B.M.C. 10571; dead B.M.C. 10573.
72. B.M.C. 10583.
73. B.M.C. 10588.
74. B.M.C. 10593 and 10594.
75. B.M.C. 10623 see also B.M.C. 10517, 10568, 10624.

76. B.M.C. 10757.
77. B.M.C. 10767, for other "cits" see B.M.C. 10768, 10769, (1807), 10980, 11005, 11040, (1808).
78. B.M.C. 10970, for other sailors see B.M.C. 10757, 10766, (1807), 10970, (1808).
79. B.M.C. 11022, 10999, 11039, 11025, (1808).
80. B.M.C. 10742.
81. B.M.C. 10978.
82. B.M.C. 10716.
83. B.M.C. 10965, for other oppressed Bulls see 10967, 10979.
84. B.M.C. 11304.
85. B.M.C. 11287, for other prints on John and the Duke of York see B.M.C. 11266, 11277, 11286, 11287, 11289, 11301, 11304, 11318.
86. B.M.C. 11268.
87. B.M.C. 11360.
88. B.M.C. 11367, 11368.
89. B.M.C. 11364, 11365.
90. B.M.C. 11563, (1810).
91. B.M.C. 11581 and 11582, (1810).
92. B.M.C. 11542, 11537, (1810).
93. B.M.C. 11896 and 11921.
94. B.M.C. 11845, for other victim Bulls see 11845, 11863.
95. B.M.C. 12037.
96. B.M.C. 11712, (1811).
97. B.M.C. 12016, (1813).
98. B.M.C. 12169.
99. B.M.C. 12183 and 12199.
100. See B.M.C. 12193, 12209, 12267, 12302.
101. B.M.C. 12193.
102. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 97; Mellini and Mathews, "John Bull's family arises" p 17.
103. Jarrett considers the relationship between the urban and country ideology in Jarrett, England in the Age of Hogarth p 34.
104. For the use of caricature as a political weapon and a discussion of its effectiveness see above pp 16-17
105. The governments tentative use of patriotic responses is discussed Linda Colley, "Whose nation? class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830" Past and Present no 113 (November, 1986).
106. See above ch 2. Charles Press, "The Georgian political print and democratic institutions" Comparative Studies in Society and History,vol 19 (1987) discusses the impact of the print p 225.

CHAPTER SIX

WAR AND PEACE

Although support for King, constitution and country combined with an almost universal hatred of the French were unifying factors, Britain's war effort was rarely national in a total sense. Different groups in society perceived the nation in different ways and these divisions were intensified by war. The divided nature of British society made it difficult for the government to promote a national consensus. This lack of cohesion is highlighted in the prints dealing directly with war. The number of prints on this topic is large, averaging about 10-12% of the total print output per year.[1] These prints express a wide variety of opinion from the pacifist to the patriotic.

During the early years of the war, at least until 1803, divisions in British public opinion were more acute. Popular democratic movements opposing the war contrasted with the "King and Country" ideology expressed by groups such as the Volunteer Movement. The initial impetus behind the Volunteers was from those groups which before the war had preferred to entrust local and national defence to irregular units rather than support a standing army.[2] Protection of property was a key motive and initially volunteers were drawn from the middle and upper classes, especially in rural areas.[3] The urban movements attracted a wider variety of classes and this may have influenced the image of the Volunteers in the London prints which was almost totally negative.[4] The mobilisation of the lower social orders was viewed with some apprehension and some contempt by the metropolitan elites.

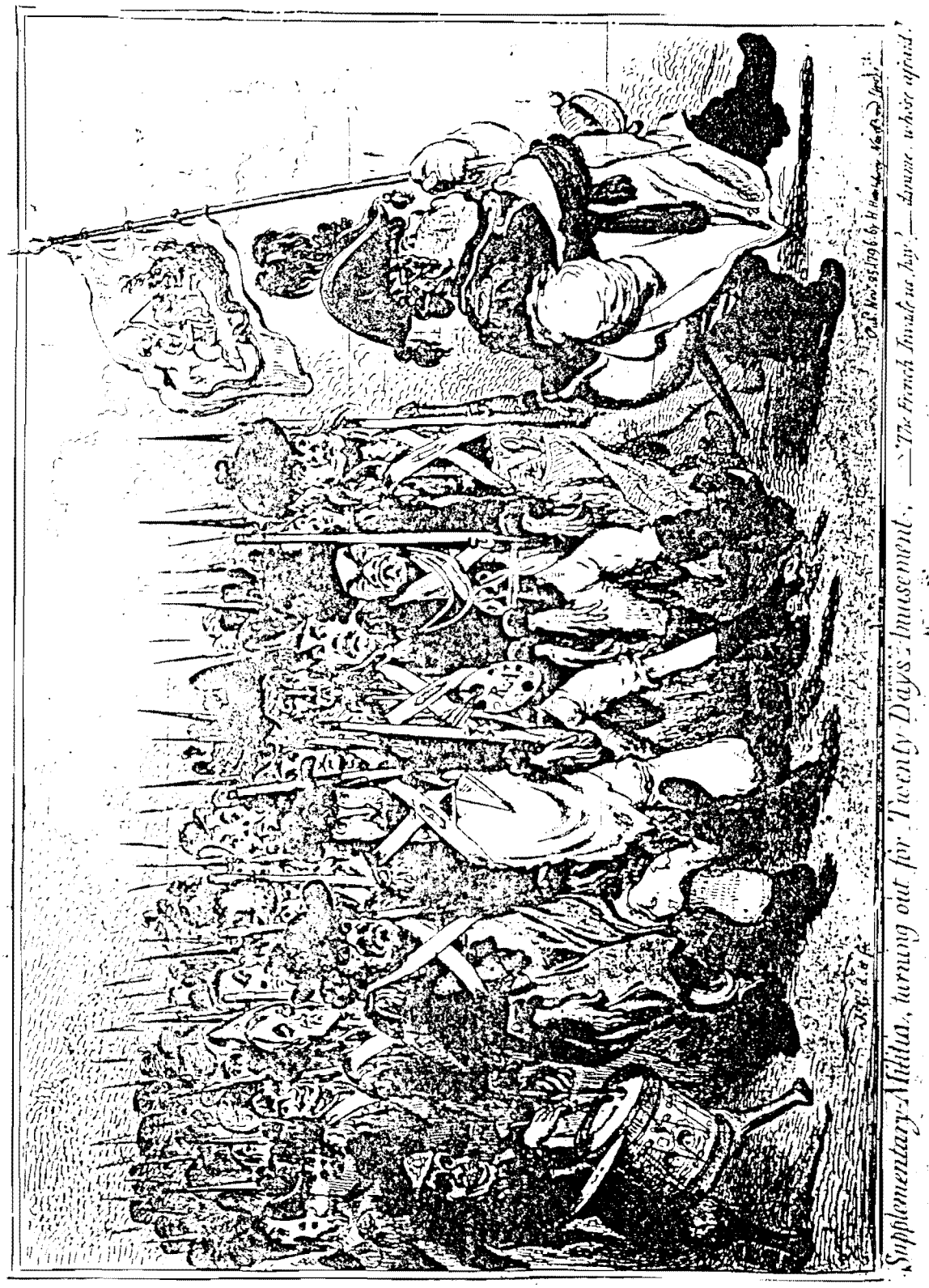


PLATE 66. Supplementary Militia, turning out for Twenty Days Amusement

B.M.C. 8840 (1796).

Most of the action seen by such units was in the suppression of riots. As early as 1792 a large percentage of the Militia were called out to act as a police force.[5] Not all irregular units proved reliable in riot suppression. In some cases volunteers were found leading the rioters while in others Volunteer rank and file deserted before possible conflicts or refused to serve against their own classes.[6] Such actions led to anxiety within the governing classes and steps were taken to bring these units under stricter controls. When the threat of invasion receded they were speedily disbanded.[7]

In the prints attitudes towards the Volunteers are polarised into two main themes. The first of these themes reflects the fear of the propertied elites. The irregulars are seen as a rabble in arms as in Gillray's vicious satire of 1796, Supplementary Militia Turning out for Twenty days Amusement.[8](PLATE 66). The print shows a company of grotesque soldiers who are led by a butcher. Among the troops are a barber, a tailor, an artist and a shoemaker. These caricatures bear a striking and no doubt intentional resemblance to the image of the sans-culotte.[9](PLATE 67). The butcher and barber also resemble the figures on the front bench of Gillray's Patriotic Regeneration - viz Parliament Reform'd a la Francoise - that is Honest Men (ie opposition) in the Seat of Justice.[10] (PLATE 68) The similarity connects the irregulars with French and English radicalism.

As well as fear, the prints reflect the distaste of the urban elites for the increased responsibility appropriated by the lower classes. To the metropolitan audience this included most non-Londoners. The country yokel was a favoured target. In Hampshire Fenables protecting their Bacon a group of armed yokels dressed in the uniform of the Yeomanry perform evolutions while mounted on pigs.[11]

PLATE 67. The National Assembly petrified / The National Assembly Revivified B.M.C. 7883 (1791).

PLATE 68. Patriotic Regeneration - viz - Parliament Reformed a la Francoise - that is - Honest Men (ie Opposition) in the Seat of Justice B.M.C. 8624 (1794).

PLATE 69. French Invasion or Brighton in a Bustle B.M.C. 8432 (1794).

In Essex Cavalry for Internal Defense, volunteers, this time mounted on calves, are completely routed by the French.[12] French Invasion or Brighton in a Bustle (PLATE 69) does depict a victory for the irregulars but the effectiveness of these yokels is very much questioned.[13]

The second main theme in the Volunteer prints is also class-associated. This theme concentrates on the unprofessionalism found especially among the Volunteer officers. It was a common criticism that many of these officers had joined up in order to avoid being ballotted into the Militia.[14] This priviledged position was resented; the West Bromich Volunteers were attacked as "big Devils as wear that damnation bloody bloody rag about your damnd paunch bellys".[15] A print of 1803 also attacks the sleekness of the Volunteer officers.[16] In scene (4) of A Peep Into the Camp an elderly gourmand complains that "these broiling field days take away the little appetite I have left", while at his feet lies a substantial repast. In other scenes officers are criticised for neglecting their military duties in order to follow other pursuits such as drunkeness, indolence, dandyism and philandering.

The reluctance of these "hyde park soldiers" to do any campaigning, especially in bad weather, was a tempting subject for caricature. In Lobsters for the Ladies (ie) Jessamin Soldiers or a veteran corps going on duty six volunteers in smart light horse uniform encounter with horror a shower of rain.[17] Three have umbrellas while one soldier with initiative has a combined musket and umbrella which is much admired by his comrades. A Volunteer In His Medical Uniform has gone to even greater lengths to protect himself from the weather.[18] He is attired in gloves, flannel coat, long stockings, and, of course, an umbrella.

By the end of 1803 there were almost 450,000 Volunteers in Great Britain and Ireland.[19] This represented the peak of enthusiasm for volunteering and occasionally this patriotic element of volunteering was represented in print. An Hieroglyphic, describing the State of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, For 1804 depicts the Volunteers as one of the three lions which protect England against Napoleon.[20] The other two lions represent the regular and aval forces. This print is typical in praising the Volunteers, not individually but as part of a general patriotic theme.[21]

The patriotism of the Volunteers received a more ironic treatment in The Consequence of Invasion or the Heros reward of 1803.[22] The volunteer, a fat and jovial yokel single handedly defeats Napoleon and boasts of this feat. The sub heading "None but the Brave dsere (sic) the Fair" is a less than subtle hint at the dubious courage of the Volunteers. The idea that the volunteer has joined up to fight for King and Country is contrasted with motives of self satisfaction and vanity. Although primarily attacking the volunteers, the cartoonist also attacks the superficiality of patriotism and Nationalism.

Generally tensions between the Volunteers and different social groups prevented them acheiving any popularity in print. These tensions are summed up by I. Cruikshank in 1803 with his print A Hunt for Another Statue - or a sketch for a Modern Weather Cock.[23] The print is a reaction to a speech of William Windham's in which he had criticised the Volunteers as a "mere levy en mass" and recommended their disbandment.[24] In the print Windham exclaims, "Down with the Volunteers!! they are not to be trusted!! they are all Democrats!" This speech identifies upperclass fears of volunteer radicalism. A yokel Volunteer on Windham's right complains at this cavalier

dismissal of the Volunteers. Although his elementary patriotism is contrasted favourably with Windham's rhetoric, he is still a recognisable figure of ridicule for the urban audience. He fills a role similar to that of the noble victim image of John Bull, and, like John, represents the increasing recognition of the widening of class involvement in the struggle for Britain's survival.

If the image of the Volunteers was negative that of the regular army was no better. Much of the distaste for the army was on similar lines to criticisms levelled at the Volunteers, especially with regard to its revolutionary potential. The army had long been regarded with suspicion by a large proportion of the British public. Since Cromwell the revolutionary potential of the standing army had been recognised and feared. The spectre of military oppression was constantly raised by the use of the army to control riots and crowds.[25] This could cause conflict on quite a large scale as in the Gordon Riots, or the London Riots of 1780. The use of the army in this role had left a legacy of constitu tional problems that were unresolved at the start of the war period.

From the end of the American wars the standard of the army had declined markedly. The cost of maintaining a large establishment was considered prohibitive in a climate of blue water rationale.[26] Britain was, by providential design, an island and her defence could be entrusted to the oceans and her navy, supported if necessary by Militia units. As the offensive role of the army, intervention on the continent, was considered a futile and expensive policy the only acceptable use of the regulars was as garrisons in the empire (a low - profile role). At the outbreak of war morale and cohesion were low. No Commander in Chief had been appointed for several years while purchase and favouritism dominated promotions. The unpopularity

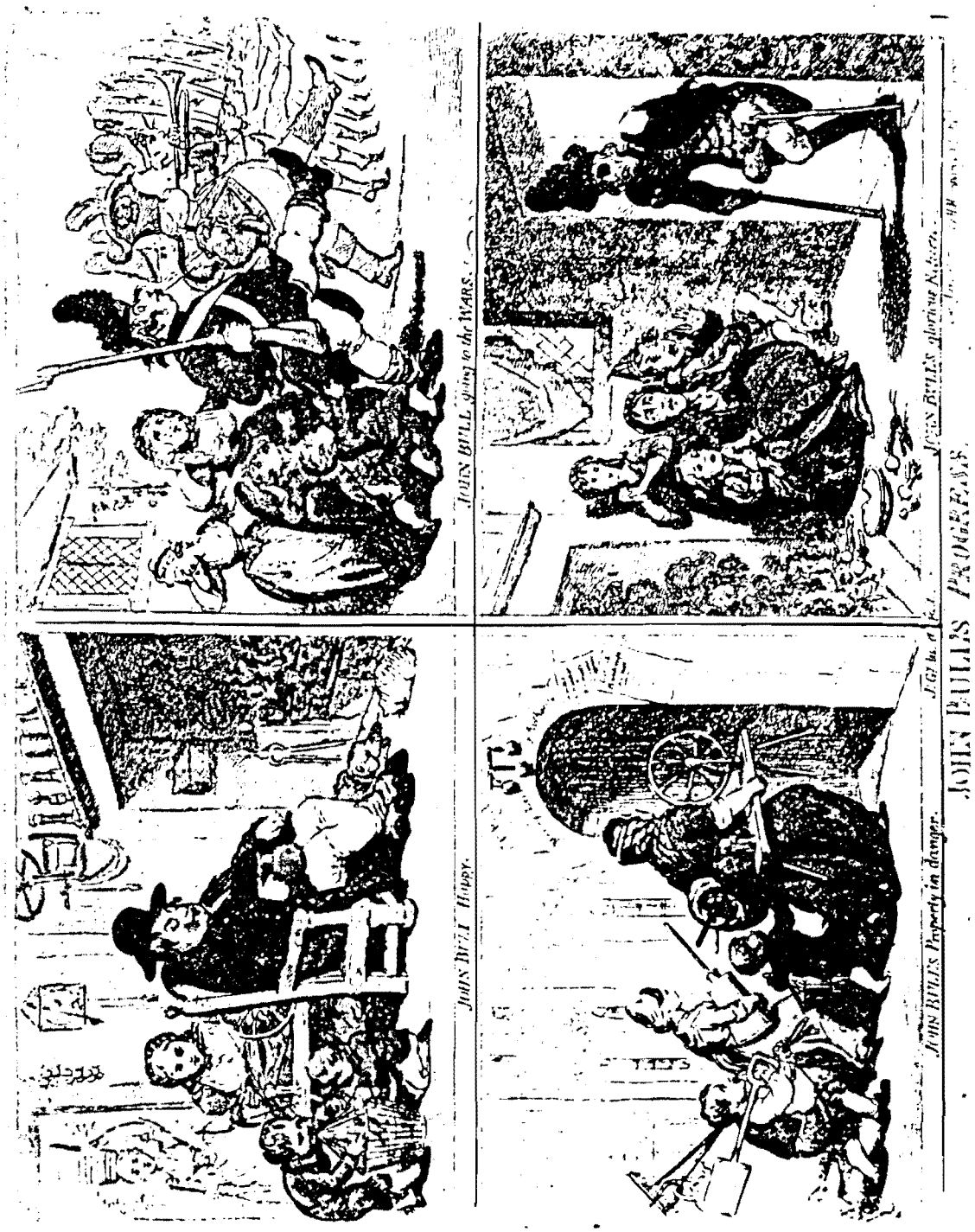


PLATE 70. John Bull's Progress B.M.C. 8328 (1793).

of the army remained a feature of the prints throughout the conflict with revolutionary France.

An example of the negative attitude towards the army is Gillray's John Bulls Progress.[28] (PLATE 70) The print consists of four designs, each titled. The first shows John Bull at peace, prosperous and happy. In the second John is motivated by patriotic ardour to enlist. The last two scenes show the demise of Bull and his family on the inadequate pay of the soldier. In the final scene John returns to his family as a useless cripple. The print considers several interesting issues; its overall tone is anti-nationalistic and it opposes enlistment on material grounds. The personal cost of war is seen to outweigh patriotic self sacrifice. This exhortation to think of self first and country second does not necessarily exclude a sense of patriotism. The response of the metropolitan audience was to be practical rather than romantic,and its patriotism, at least in the early years of the war was qualified by self interest.

Gillray's print also attacks the quality of the regulars. The soldier in this case is a gormless yokel, stout and unintelligent. The criticism of the common soldier was well grounded. The low pay and harsh conditions meant that the army was filled mainly by men who had been unsuccessful at other careers or were serving in lieu of a prison sentence. Recruiting methods accounted for the occasional naive country youth as in A Recruiting Party of 1797.[29] A group of guardsmen with bearskin caps and copious lace attempt to recruit a crowd of gaping yokels. The guards are uncaricatured and the print reflects the opinion that the army was filled with recruits of the lowest calibre. The Auckward Squad of 1794 is on a similar theme and sympathises with the task of the officer in turning raw recruits

into soldiers.[30]

The image of the army was not helped by its dismal showing in the first half of the war. Disorganised and ill equipped it was able to contribute little to the First Coalition. Although the Flanders campaign exposed inadequacies at all levels, its principal scapegoat was the Duke of York, the commander of the British forces. In Gillray's Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders[31] York and his fellow officers are shown disporting themselves with wine, women, and song while a file of ragged and starving guardsmen bring food to the table. This print highlights the social divisions within the army. A common grievance was that the purchase system promoted inefficient and ignorant officers to command neglected but capable men.[32]

These grievances are aired in The Hero's recruiting at Kelseys.[33] Kelseys was a well known London sweet shop and two boy officers are shown buying sweets; they are clearly unfit to command. The value and neglect of the common soldier is expressed in a print of 1797, Look at me I'm an Object.[34] The last of the accompanying verses praises the valour and effectiveness of the regulars

> But when to guard the common weal
> Our soldiers pull their triggers
> One charge inline with British Steel
> Is worth Ten Thousand Figures

As the war continued the image of the army continued to be tarnished by the high command. In 1808 rejoicing at a rare British victory turned to cries of betrayal after the conditions of the Convention of Cintra became public. The prints ignore Vimeiro although the Spanish conflict was a popular subject for allegory.[35] Six prints criticise Cintra.[36]

1809 was a bad year for the army. It began with the retreat to Corunna, an event which was totally ignored by the cartoonists.

The silence on military matters did not last long with the revival of the scandal surrounding the Duke of York and Mary-Anne Clarke. This scandal touched a nerve with its supposed promotion of military applicants by money not merit.[37] It proved a lucrative topic for the cartoonists and lasted for most of the year. Just as the Clarke scandal began to die down the army once again made it into print. Lord Chatham's expedition to the Scheldt had been hopelessly mismanaged and ended in almost total failure and this aspect was covered in the prints.[38]

The image of the army did not improve with victory. Successes such as Wellington's string of victories from 1809-1814 rarely appeared in print.[39] The unpopular image of the army, compounded with impressions left by its earlier failures, made it an unattractive vehicle for nationalistic celebration. Like the other land forces its role in society was never satisfactorily defined to all classes. Predominantly aristocratic at the top and lower class at the bottom, it failed to identify with middle class ideology. As a whole the British preferred to identify with non-military symbols of defiance such as John Bull, Britannia or her Lion. However these symbols do appear in a quasi-military role when opposed to Napoleon in conflict allegories. The military prints of 1793-1814 give little indication of the jingoistic militarism that became closely associated with British nationalism during the late Victorian period.[40]

Unlike the army the navy was never seen as a social threat. During the eighteenth century it had become regarded as Britain's major defensive and offensive weapon. The development of this blue water rationale did not prevent its unreadiness for war in 1793, and its pre-war organisation was almost as bad as that of the army. However a series of (mostly) energetic First Lords and Admirals quickly

restored its position. An almost constant stream of successes from the Glorious 1st of June to Trafalgar cemented its popularity with the British public. The mid eighteenth century ballads, such as Hearts of Oak and Rule Britannia, were revived while naval victories were received with universal acclaim and celebrated in euphoric popular demonstrations.[41]

This popularity did not entirely prevent the airing of social and humanitarian grievances against some aspects of naval life. Although the need to fully man the navy was accepted, methods of recruitment were resented. The brutality of the naval press which accounted for over 60% of naval manpower was justly criticised.[42] Accusations of kidnapping did not fall far short of the truth. Readers of Carlton House Magazine may have wished to believe in the willingness of the sailor to volunteer but in reality the number of volunteers were small.[43] Pressgang methods used to raise the additional numbers by force were naturally unpopular especially amongst large commercial ports. I. Cruikshank viciously attacked the pressgang and the crimp in two prints of 1794, Kidnapping or a disgrace to Old England and Modern Mode of Beating up for Volunteers.[44] The effects of the pressgang were particually severe when a rapid increase in naval personnel was needed on the opening of hostilities.

With the threat of imminent invasion the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore were suprisingly ignored in the prints.[45] The brutality of naval discipline, too, was largely ignored.[46] The excessive cost of patriotism to the individual was occasionally depicted. In A Distressed Sailor a similar sentiment to John Bulls Progress is depicted.[47] A young sailor with a small child has received little for his services except the loss of a leg. The sailor is represented as clean and respectable although he is ragged and poor.

S. 2

Sir E. Bursbury del. Rowlandson fe.

PLATONIC LOVE.

None but the brave deserve the fair!

She swore in Faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange.
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful ——
She wish'd she had not heard it; yet she wish'd,
That heaven had made her such a man.—she thank'd me.
And bade me if I had a friend that lov'd her
I should but teach him how to tell my story,
And that would woo her —— on this hint I spake
She lov'd me for the Dangers I had pass'd:
And I lov'd her that she did pity them!

London Pub by T Tegg Cheapside

PLATE 71. Platonic Love B.M.C. 10926 (1808).

Jack Tars were not the only ones to suffer in the service of England and the retired sailor or officer with his wooden leg was a common figure of farce. In Platonic Love (PLATE 71) the victim is a severely crippled officer.[48] The sub-heading cynically suggests "None but the brave deserve the fair!" The print attacks the falsity of such patriotic slogans.

Despite the occasional criticism the image of the navy was almost entirely positive. (see table 3). Praise of the navy fell into two categories, focal and background. The focal category consists of praise of specific battles as well as prints depicting naval officers and tars. The naval subject is generally the main topic of the print. Under the second category are the prints in which the navy is a secondary or background topic. Often the naval element consists only of a ship or ships which are drawn in the background of the print. Such ships are symbolic of British economic and martial strength and they usually complement other symbols of national expression such as John Bull or the constituition.

The number of prints celebrating individual battles was small. In 1794 the Glorious 1st of June was praised in only three prints and Camperdown in 1796 was equally unpopular.[49] The victory of the Nile in 1798 was more popular and produced eight prints.[50] In Admiral Nelson recreating with his Brave Tars after the Glorious Battle of the Nile (PLATE 72) Nelson and his crew celebrate the victory.[51] The print is interesting as it praises the role of the common Jack Tar as well as the ships officers. A camaraderie between officers and men is present that was totally lacking in prints on the army and irregulars.

Unlike the army the navy promoted on merit and seniority

Table 3. A comparison of positive and negative prints on the navy 1794 - 1808

Year	Positive prints *	Negative prints
1794-6	8	6
1797-9	19	2
1800-2	10	2
1803-5	59	4
1806-8	18	3
Years of Peak Naval Popularity		
1798	12	-
1803	44	1
1805	8	3
1807	10	-

* The positive prints include the prints in which the navy appears as a positive symbol in the background.

PLATE 72. Admiral Nelson recreating with his Brave Tars after the Glorious Battle of the Nile B.M.C. 9256 (1798).

PLATE 73. Northern Bears taught to Dance B.M.C. 9706 (1801).

The VETERAN's ADDRESS to a YOUNG SAILOR.

YOU are now, young Man, entering on a scene of life the most glorious and enterprising—that of an ENGLISH SAILOR; to you is, in part, delegated the care of the British Empire: be mindful of the sacred trust you have in charge; be as bold as the lynx in the hour of danger, and pour the thunder of your cannon on the insulting Foes of ALBION: then shall the spirit of immortal HAWKE animate your bosom, and the shades of departed Heroes lead you on to VICTORY! An imperious and daring Invader threatens to approach your shores; but tell him, with a Stentor's voice, that BRITONS never will stoop to SLAVERY! BRITANNIA, seated on her chalky Cliffs, smiles at his threats and arrogant presumption. Bring to his mind the deeds of mighty DRAKE, when SPAIN's ARMADA shrunk beneath his valour; let HOWARD, BLAKE, and POCOCK, (deathless names!) make the Invader tremble; RUSSEL, BOSCAWEN, and a train of Heroes fill the glorious list. Be these your great examples in the hour of battle; or, if more modern deeds excite your ardour, think on the fearless DUNCAN, brave CORNWALLIS, HOWE, WARREN, HOOD, the famed ST. VINCENT, and the undaunted HERO OF THE NILE! names that will ever live in Time's eternal calendar! With such examples, GLORY must attend you, and your grateful Country shall reward your gallant prowess. Again remember the important charge you have in trust. Farewell! be vigilant, be bold—true to your GOD, your COUNTRY, and your KING!

PLATE 74. The Veteran's Address to a Young Sailor B.M.C. 10065 (1803).

as well as influence. The dangerous and difficult life at sea meant that ineptitude was soon exposed, often fatally. To command a ship at sea a high degree of technical training was necessary. In comparison to the amateurism of army officers the naval captains were professionals. As such their relationship with the common sailors (also professionals) was a product of necessity and discipline rather than class. The sharing of the harsh conditions of naval service meant a closer bond or understanding between officers and men at sea. The naval heroes such as Nelson, St Vincent and Lord Howe were popular heroes to the extent that Wellington, Graham and Beresford never were.[52] The co-operation between Admirals and men is illustrated in Northern Bears taught to Dance (PLATE 73) in which two Admirals and a British Tar tackle three bears representing the Northern Alliance.[53] Sometimes the Jack Tar alone symbolised naval success.[54]

Many of the prints on naval victories focussed on the successful Admirals and these were often depicted in a heroic light. Gillray's Extirpation of the Plagues of Egypt; - Destruction of Revoluntionary Crocodiles; - or - The British Hero Cleansing Y^{e} Mouth of Y^{e} Nile depicts Nelson knee deep in water destroying a swarm of crocodiles with a "British Oak".[55] The use of the oak concentrates all the virtues of British tradition behind Nelson. A slim handsome Nelson routs the French and the opposition in The Gallant Nelson bringing home two Uncommon fierce French Crocodiles from the Nile as a Present to the King. A delighted yokel, on first name basis with the hero, expresses his pleasure at the victory.[56] In this print Nelson is depicted as a patriot hero, a symbol of true British valour.

The association of the naval heroes with the glory of the British nation is made in The Veteran's address to a Young Sailor[57] (PLATE 74). The Veteran exhorts the young man to be true to "Your

God, Your Country and Your King". The navy is associated with the defence of the nation and the nation's glory. The promotion of national glory is ideologically similar to high Victorian appeals to Empire. In this print specific naval heroes and victories are merged with an abstract ideal of naval glory. The celebration of past heroes and tradition is a key element in militant patriotism.

As the war progressed the praise of the navy in abstract became more popular in the prints than the celebration of specific victories. Trafalgar was depicted in only six prints.[58] To a certain extent the print medium was a poor vehicle for the celebration of victory. It's forté was comment and satire rather than news. Unless a print was produced very quickly on a victory it was soon out of date and stale. An abstract presentation of naval glory was easier to manage, especially as it could be included in the background of various topics and satires. Identified with British strength and nationalism it never went out of fashion.

The exact symbolism of the ships that hover in the background of so many prints is undefined. It is not made clear whether these ships are naval or mercantile. Possibly the connection was so close anyway that when an Englishman thought "commerce" he also thought "rule of the waves". Mercantile power, the glorification of trade and maritime superiority had long existed.[59] The "rule of the waves" was an amalgam of three ideas: firstly the prize of unlimited trade which attracted the merchants, secondly the preservation of national honour and prestige by naval superiority and thirdly a denunciation of continental military involvement. The latter two ideas combining international glory with lack of internal cost was popular with almost all groups in society. Unlike the army the navy succeeded in uniting the nation behind one symbol, the tall ships of England.

PLATE 75. A Monstrous Stride B.M.C. 10040 (1803).

The motif of British ships hovering watchfully in the background was used as early as 1793 in The Contrast (PLATE 2) and it continued to be used in a small number until 1803 when its popularity increased.[60] The motif was used in a diverse range of prints. In 1800 it appears in a print on the Irish Union and another on corn monopolists.[61] It is almost from its conception associated with the traditional image complex defining Englishness. In the prints attacking the corn monopolists the role of the ships is to protect and dispense the prosperity of England.

In 1803, like other images of English nationalism, the tall ship symbol reached its zenith. During this upsurge the ship cemented its role as one of the major symbols of Britain. About 33% of the years total prints output features a naval element, in most cases the ubiquitous tall ships. In A Monstrous Stride (PLATE 75) the navay alone defies Napoleon.[62] More unusually, the ships gave support to other figures as they opposed Napoleon. They help Pitt in The Political Cocks and support John Bull in several prints.[63] Their most frequent appearance is in the prints which allegorically symbolise the conflict.[64] With the invasion threat at its height they represent the essence of British courage and defiance. In Selling the Skin before the Bear is caught or Cutting up the Bull before he is killed (PLATE 76) Napoleon is opposed by British valour.[65] In the foreground Britannia rouses a reclining John Bull. In the background are symbols representing prosperity and strength, tall ships and a farmer ploughing the land.

The economic symbolism of the ships increases under the impact of the blockade. The image of the tall ship had declined in 1804-5 but in 1806 it was revived in response to the blockade.[66] Bonaparte Blockading John Bull ridicules the implementation of the

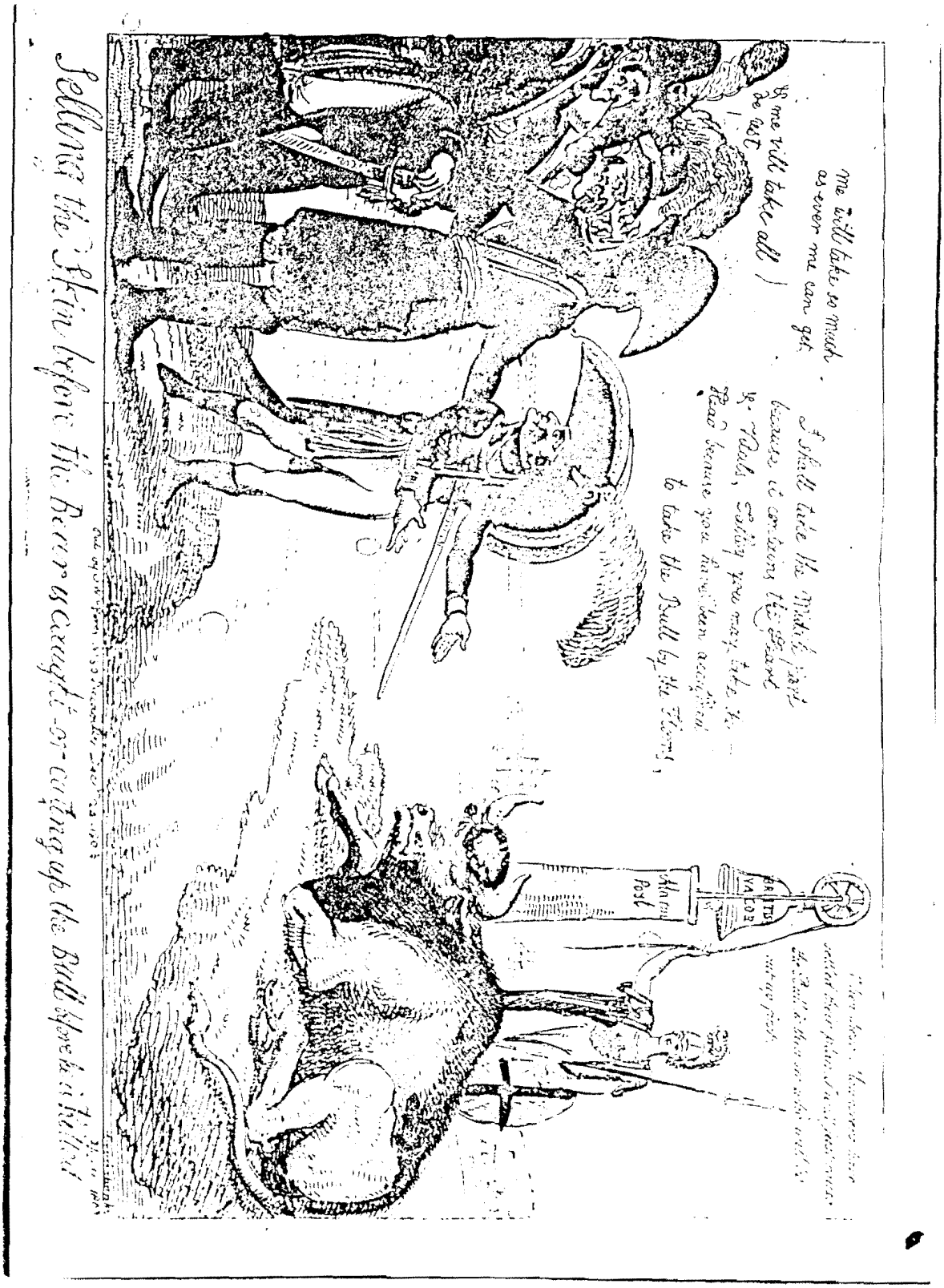


PLATE 76. Selling the Skin before the Bear is caught or cutting up the Bull before he is Killed B.M.C. 10133 (1803).

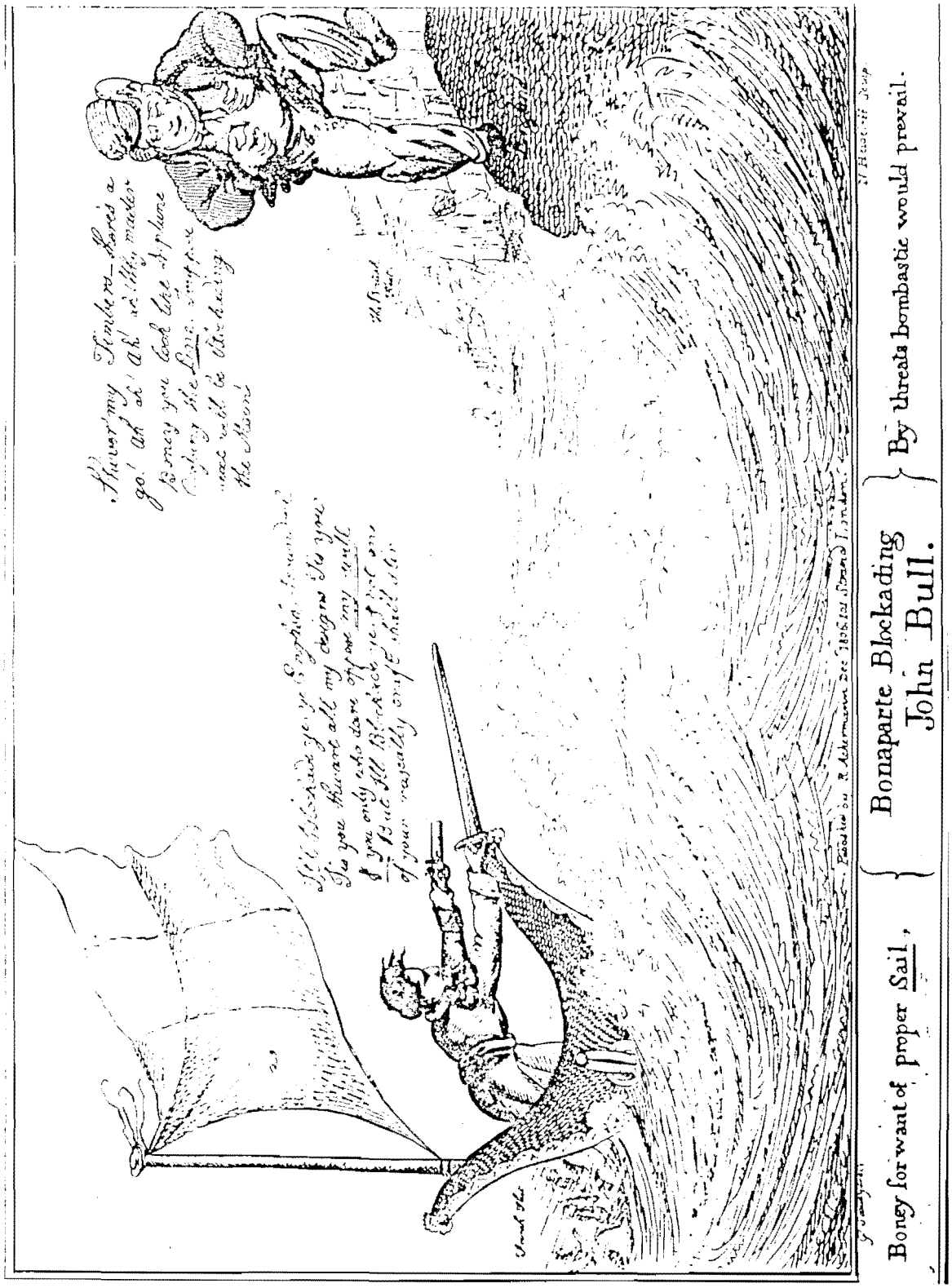


PLATE 77. Bonaparte Blockading John Bull B.M.C. 10624 (1806).

French blockade.[67] (PLATE 77) The inadequate French fleet is contrasted with the might of the Royal Navy. At this stage of the war the battle for supremacy of the waves had been won, and, although the popularity of the tall ship motif continued into 1807, the impact of new military themes, especially the war with Spain, reduced the number of naval prints after 1807 to a mere trickle.

However by this stage the Navy's successes had cemented its place as an integral part of the paraphernalia of British nationalism. The almost constant stream of victories culminating in Britain's almost total domination of the sea meant that the navy was easily identified with success. Such positive images lent themselves naturally to expressions of British superiority. It is not at all surprising that the navy proved, along with John Bull, the most widely used symbol of Britain's power. What does surprise is that the civilian figure of John Bull rather than Jack Tar was the principal symbol of Britain's defiance of Napoleon.

This emphasis on the civilian defiance of Napoleon reflects, in part, the greater civilian involvement and cost in the increasingly "total" conflict. Periodically united by the severity of external threat, the reaction of the British public to war fluctuated in response to changes in the domestic and international scene. Attitudes to war were influenced by more than militarism. Opposition to the war on humanitarian grounds existed throughout the conflict, while outcry against the horrors and hardship of war was often intensified in periods of economic stress. Support for the war based on patriotic or geo-political reasons did not always outlast the stress of economic collapse.

At the beginning of the period internationalism, in the form of radical and democratic movements, cut across British unity.

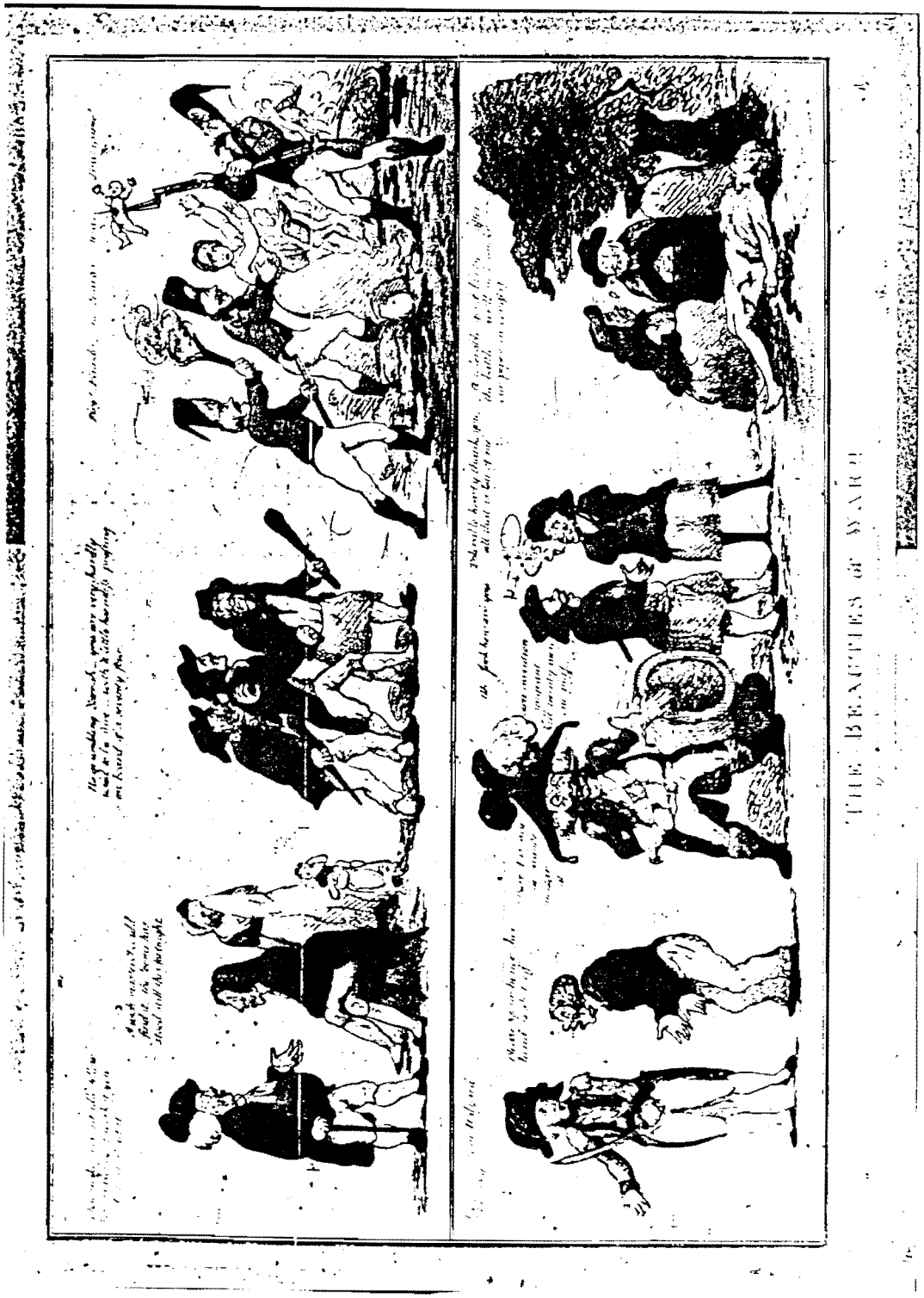


PLATE 78. The Beauties of War B.M.C. 9418 (1799).

Objections to war at this point were often moral or humanitarian, while military forces and instituitions on both sides of the Channel were ridiculed.[68] As early as 1795 the pressures of war on the civilian population were becoming severe. A bad harvest in 1794-5 combined with a fiscal crisis caused by war debt prompted civilian solidarity in opposition to high taxes and military subsidies.[69] Subsidies to the Allied Coatitions were especially loathed.

The Beauties of War (PLATE 78) by Woodward depicts criticisms of war.[70] These were in two main areas, economic and humanitarian. The cost of war comes into the first area, while humanitarian opposition to war included attacks on the brutality of warfare and the social atrocities that could be committed during war. Gillray's The Blessings of Peace / The Curses of War produced in 1795 also outlines the general dissatisfaction with war.[71] It contrasts peace and war. The former represents comfort and prosperity while the latter means atrocity and ruin. This contrast proved a powerful image and many of the anti-war prints could be described as of the "Peace and Plenty" type.

This was especially true in the years from 1800-2. In 1799 the harvest had again failed and by 1800 rioting was becoming widespread.[72] Among the slogans used was "Peace and a large bread or a King without a head".[73] Opposition to war now focussed almost exclusively on economic reasons as in Effusions of a Pot of Porter published late in 1799.[74] (PLATE 79) The Englishman's dislike for small beer and short commons is also stressed in John Bull in the Year 1800 John Bull in the Year 1801.[75] (PLATE 80)

Often pro-peace prints were anti-ministerial and none is more so than Robert's Iohn Bulls prayer to Peace or the Flight of Discord.[76] (PLATE 81) Pitt is "Discord", a medusa-like monster dropping daggers as he flees. In contrast Napoleon is depicted as noble and handsome.

Effusions of a Pot of Porter:_or_Ministerial Conjurations for Supporting the WAR, as lately discoverd by D^r P...r. in the Froth & Fumes of his favorite Beverage.

PLATE 79. Effusions of a Pot of Porter B.M.C. 9430 (1799).

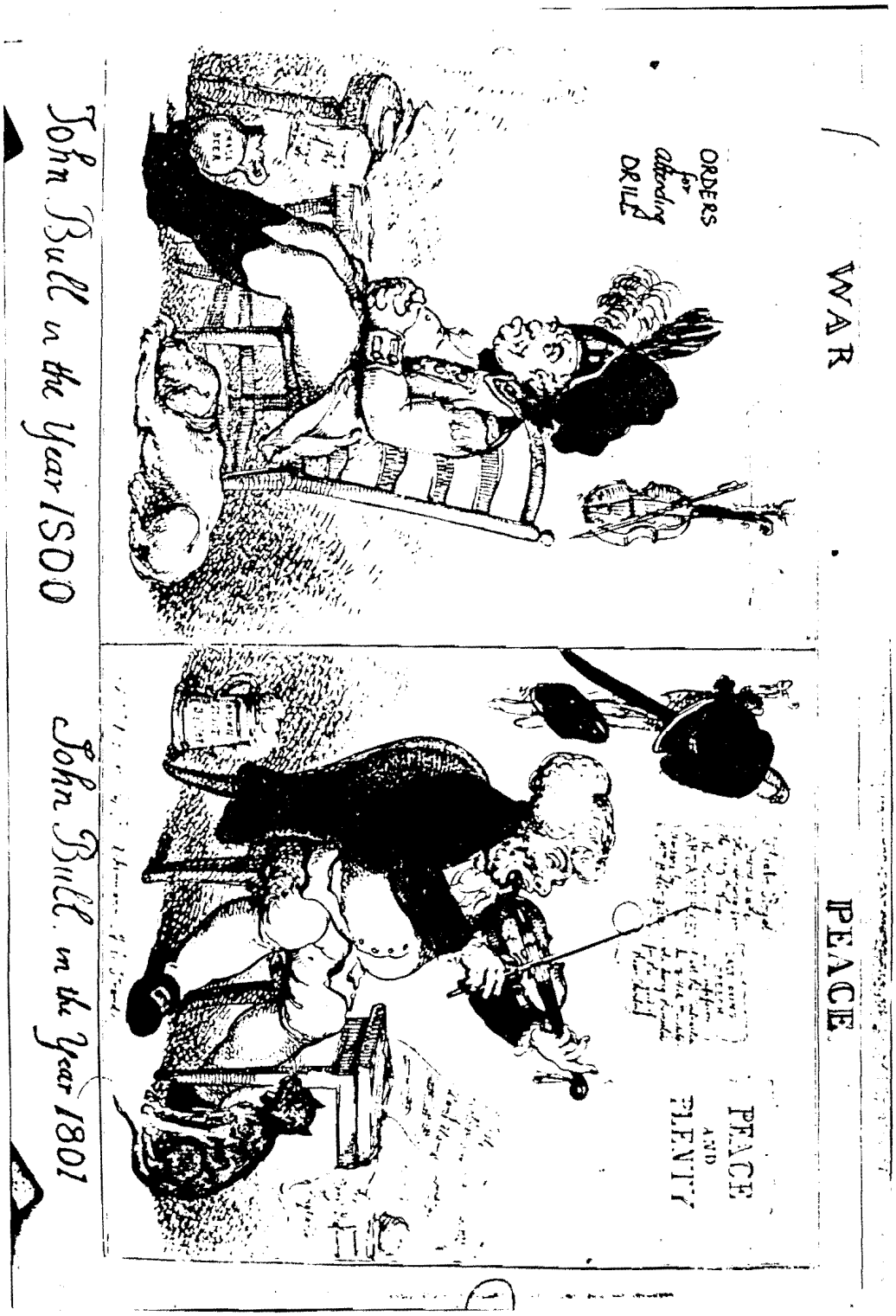


PLATE 80. John Bull in the Year 1800 John Bull in the Year 1801

B.M.C. 9730 (1801).

PLATE 81. John Bulls Prayer to Peace, or the Flight of Discord

B.M.C. 9737 (1801).

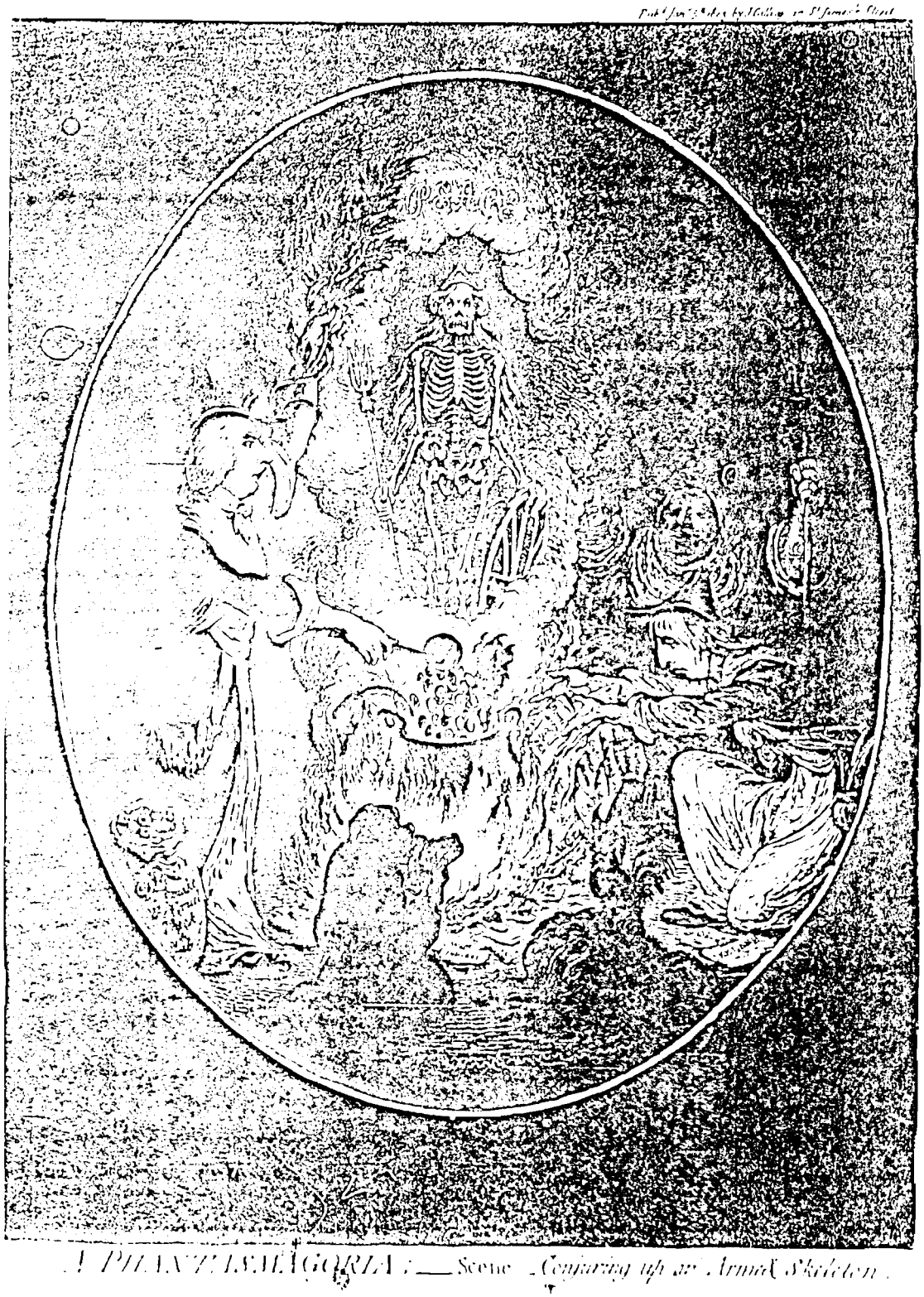


PLATE 82. A Phantasmagoria: Scene Conjuring up an Armed Skelton

B.M.C. 9962 (1802).

This print represents the extreme of anti-nationalism. John Bull beseeches Peace and complains of the lost "liberties and privilages" stolen from him by the war-mongering Pitt. John has been unwilling to sacrifice anything for the conflict with France, a conflict he believes has been unjust. International accord with its attendant virtues of prosperity and liberal government are to him eminently preferable to national struggle.

Not all prints were enthusiastic about the peace especially in 1802 when the terms became known. Prints against peace do not dispute the economic hardship of war but they see this as a lesser evil to a weakened Britain. The prints opposing peace are roughly equal to those in its favour.[77] Most attack the peace on the grounds that it is a "bad bargain", and this view implies some understanding of the nature of international diplomacy. Napoleon's ambitions are feared in Long expected come at last or John Bull disappointed at his crippled visitor.[78] Peace in this print is a crippled woman who advances towards a loutish John Bull. The naive enthusiasm for peace is cynically attacked. The long term effects of peace are seen as potentially disastrous in A Phantasmagoria : scene conjuring up an Armed Skeleton.[79] (PLATE 82) The result of British concessions is a skeletal Britannia.

The renewal of war in 1803 saw the temporary eclipse of pro-peace prints. Economic grievances were sublimated to national defiance in face of the threat to Britain's existence. As Napoleon's imperial ambitions became clear, public opinion in Britain united in opposition. Social and economic grievances were set aside in a climate of national fear. The result was a patriotic outpouring in the prints using images which explored and defined concepts of national identity.

This upsurge of national sentiment proved transient and did

not last in the prints beyond 1803. To most the war seemed unwinnable and their enthusiasm waned accordingly. The receding threat of invasion meant a corresponding decline in the need for national unity.

Apparent stalemate in 1806 revived debate on the possibility of peace with several prints. These prints were again divided into support and opposition to peace.[80] These prints are no different thematically from those of 1803. The needless hardship of war is attacked, and, while peace on honourable terms may have been acceptable, most believed that this was impossible in the face of Napoleonic ambition.

The implementation of the blockade in 1806 was first received with ridicule. As it continued economic hardship was again experienced. The years 1811-12 saw a crisis.[81] There were again food shortages while the war with America further curtailed international markets. Interest in the success of the British peninsula expidition after a brief period of popularity was small.[82] It began to be thought that the blockade would result in economic collapse as in Which drowns First, or Boney's improved Bucket.[83] A satire on the continental system which is seen as bringing famine and industrial distress.

Reaction to Napoleon's Russian debâcle was readily expressed in a large number of prints. These have a remarkable spirit of internationalism and concentrate on French defeat rather than British victory. The battles of Vittoria, Ronscavales, Nivelle and Orthez are neglected while the Allied victory at Leipzig is emphasised.[84] Unlike 1803 the prints are not swamped with an outpouring of national sentiment although it is present at a lesser level. The prints do rejoice at Napoleon's downfall but they do not celebrate Britain's role in his collapse. The feeling is not that of jubilation over English supremacy but relief at the end of a long and enervating

war. Hope is expressed for the re-establishment of the old order but this does not include militant statements on Britain's global position.

Nationalism in Britain during this period had been temporary and transient. Only in 1803 did the fear of national survival overcome the divided interests and ideals of the "not so united kingdom." [85] Abstract ideals of national identity had been produced,and these were,in general,civilian rather than military. Even in success the prints rarely glorify war. Only the navy proved popular as a military symbol. This symbolism represented economic and commercial strength rather than military aggression. The prints depicted at times a vague concept of nationalism but rarely in a total or concrete sense.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. This figure includes prints in which a major theme is war, such as war dearth, or taxes caused by war, as well as military topics and allegories. It does not include allegories in which John Bull or other unmilitary personifications oppose Napoleon unless there is a specific military or naval element in these allegories.

2. The irregulars had been relied on as protectors of property and order. The relationship between society and the armed forces is discussed in Tony Hayter, The Army and the Crowd in Mid-Georgian England (New Jersey, 1978); see also Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe p 128.

3. The composition of the volunteers is covered briefly in Roger Wells, Insurrection, the British Experience 1795-1803 (Gloucester, 1983) pp 21-2, also Colley, "Whose nation? class and national consciousness in Britain" pp 113-5. Cookson, "The English volunteer movement of the French wars" considers the relationship between volunteering in towns and middle class consciousness.

4. Although important distinctions did differentiate between the Volunteers, Militia, Yeomanry and Fencibles they are considered together as "irregulars" in this essay.

5. A common activity for the irregulars, for a description of their police activity in 1792 see Jack Haswell, The British Army, a Concise History (london, 1975) p 62.

6. Wells, Insurrection, the British Experience pp 255-7.

7. The Volunteers were disbanded by Castlereagh in 1808 and replaced by the Local Militia. See Richard Glover, Britain at Bay (London, 1973) p 141.

8. B.M.C. 8840, for more rabble in arms see B.M.C. 8597, 8971.

9. B.M.C. 7883 (1791).

10. B.M.C. 8624 (1795).

11. B.M.C. 8492 (1794).

12. B.M.C. 8459 (1794).

13. B.M.C. 8432 (1794), for other armed yokels see especially B.M.C. 8503, (1794), 8597 (1795).

14. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars p 102-3.

15. Ibid p 87.

16. B.M.C. 10140, for other prints of the unprofessionalism of the Volunteers see B.M.C. 8838 (1796), 8991, 8993 (1797), 9239, 9247, 9314 (1798), 9532 (1800).

17. B.M.C. 9221 (1798). The umbrella, now a symbol of Englishness, was viewed with distrust in the late eighteenth century. It was associated with "Frenchness", one writer even described it as a "walking stick with petticoats".

18. B.M.C. 10115 (1803).

19. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars pp 102-3.

20. B.M.C. 10220.

21. For other general, favourable treatments of the Volunteers see B.M.C. 8513 (1800), 10088 (1803), 10436 (1805).

22. B.M.C. 10047, for other negative prints of 1803 see B.M.C. 10041, 10052, 10140.

23. B.M.C. 10221, see also 10233.

24. B.M.C. vol 8 pp 248-9.

25. Riot control is given a full account in Wells, Insurrection, the British Experience see especially pp 22-5.

26. This blue water rationale is summed up in Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth p 169. For the cost of the army and preferences for the militia see Hayter, The Army and the Crowd pp 3, 22 or Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe p 128.

27. Haswell, The British Army p 61.

28. B.M.C. 8328 (1793), for a similar view of military life see B.M.C. 8333 (1793), 8418, 8428 (1794), 8609, 8642 (1795).

29. B.M.C. 9128.

30. B.M.C. 8429.

31. B.M.C. 8327 (1793), for further attacks on York see B.M.C. 8425 (1794), 8789 (1796).

32. For ineficient officers see B.M.C. 8619 (1795), 8790, 8791 (1796), 9037 (1797). For neglected but professional soldiers see, B.M.C. 8333 (1793), 8652 (1795), 9026 (1797), 11871, 11873 (1812).

33. B.M.C. 9068 (1797).

34. B.M.C. 9026.

35. Twenty seven prints depict the Spanish conflict. The patriotism and bravery of the Spanish was highlighted, see for a selection B.M.C. 10994, 10998, 10999, 11004, 11024, 11031 (1808).

36. B.M.C. 11034, 11035, 11042, 11045, 11048, 11051 also 11215 (1809).

37. The military element was a minor factor compared to the outcry about corruption. For an especial military emphasis see B.M.C. 11216, 11260, 11265, 11317, 11288, 11304.

38. B.M.C. 11365, 11366, 11367, 11380, 11381.

39. Wellington achieved some popularity in the prints but the numbers were small, especially when compared to the large amount of prints celebrating Napoleon's defeats of 1812-14. For Wellington's victories see B.M.C. 11579 (1810), 11722, 11723 (1811), 11901, 11905 (1812). Prints celebrating Napoleon's defeat or allied victories are numerous, well over forty, for a selection see B.M.C. 11991, 11992, 11998, 12001, 12022, 12045 (1913).

40. For Victorian nationalism see John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960 (Manchester, 1984), especially pp 5-6.

41. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars pp 77, 122; Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe p 147.

42. Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe gives the percentages of naval crews as: boys, 8%; foreigners, 15%; volunteers, 15%; pressgang, 60+%, pp 146-7.

43. The Carlton House Magazine print is B.M.C. 8447 (1794) but see also B.M.C. 8501 (1794).

44. B.M.C. 8484 and 8486.

45. There is only one print in the B.M.C. 9021, it supports the establishment.

46. A few prints attack flogging see B.M.C. 10192 (1803), 11139 (1808).

47. 47. B.M.C. 9790 (1801).

48. B.M.C. 10926 (1808).

49. For the Glorious 1st of June see B.M.C. 8469, 8470, 8471; Camperdown B.M.C. 8831, 9034.

50. B.M.C. 9248, 9250, 9256, 9257, 9259, 9260, 9252, 9251.

51. B.M.C. 9256.

52. Lord Howe's popular reception at the spithead mutiny is colourfully described in Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe pp 134-6.

53. B.M.C. 9706 (1801) see also B.M.C. 10422, 10443, 10444 (1805).
54. B.M.C. 9268, 9277 (1798), 9990, 9997, 10024, 10033 (1803), 10277, (1804), 10623 (1806).
55. B.M.C. 9250 (1798).
56. B.M.C. 9251 (1798).
57. B.M.C. 10065 (1803).
58. B.M.C. 10438, 10439, 10441, 10443, 10442, 10444 (1805). The insignificance of this is apparent when it is noted that the scandal over the misapropriation of Naval funds by the paymaster Trotter, also occuring during 1805 produced twenty seven prints.
59. The mercantile doctrine is discussed in Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth pp 168-9.
60. B.M.C. 8284 see also B.M.C. 8992, 8995 (1797), 8814, 8834 (1796), 9407, 9414, 9502 (1799).
61. The Irish Union, B.M.C. 9507 and the corn monopolists, B.M.C. 9543, 9546.
62. B.M.C. 10040.
63. Supporting Pitt, B.M.C. 9973 and John Bull, B.M.C. 9974, 10003, 10032, 10033, 10036, 10048, 10056, 10067, 10073, 10088.
64. For tall ships in conflict allegories see B.M.C. 9987, 9988, 10000, 10003, 10008, 10012, 10034, 10043, 10053, 10060, 10067, 10091, 10101, 10104, 10133, 10143.
65. B.M.C. 10133.
66. For the tall ships and the blockade see B.M.C. 10586, 10594, 10623, 10624 (1806), 10699, 10766, 10768, 10769, 10771, 10775, 10778 (1807).
67. B.M.C. 10624.
68. For humanitarian objections see B.M.C. 8328, 8333 (1793), 8609, 8664 (1795); for ridicule of militarism see B.M.C. 8345 (1793), 8476, 8489 (1794).
69. For the severity of the bad harvest see B.R. Mitchell ed, Phyllis Deane colab, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962) pp 55-9. For the financial crises see Richard L. Cooper, "Williams Pitt, taxation and the needs of war" Journal of British Studies vol 22 (1982) pp 95-6.
70. 9418 (1799) see also 8669, 8671, 8672 (1795) for other moral criticisms of war.
71. B.M.C. 8609.
72. Mitchell and Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics pp 579.
73. Mancur Olsen jr, The Economics of the Wartime Shortage (North Carolina, 1963) p 49.
74. B.M.C. 9430, see also for peace and dearth B.M.C. 9525 (1800), 9731, 9732, 9733, 9734, 9737, 9850, 9851 (1801).
75. B.M.C. 9730.
76. B.M.C. 9737.
77. For prints opposing peace see B.M.C. 9726, 9735, 9736, 9738, 9739 (1801), 9841, 9848, 9852, 9868, 9895 (1802).
78. B.M.C. 9852.
79. B.M.C. 9962.
80. Supporting peace see B.M.C. 10551, 10583, 10585, 10668 and against peace B.M.C. 10586, 10594, 10595, 10597.
81. Mitchell and Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics pp 57-9.
82. The Spanish revolt was enthusiastically reviewed in twenty

three prints, British involvenment is depicted in only a few prints see B.M.C. 11337 (1809), 11579 (1810), 11722, 11723 (1811), 11901, 11905 (1812).

83. B.M.C. 11876.

84. No prints specifically celebrate Wellington's victories, for Leipzig and allied successes see B.M.C. 12044, 12045, 112048, 12049, 12050, 12051, 12053, (1813).

85. Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe ch 10 stresses the divided nature of Great Britain from 1793-1814.

CONCLUSION

The Georgian political print from 1793-1814 chronicles a change in English nationalism under the impact of war. The most important war-induced factor was fear and the greatest change in print subjects and production occurs in the climate of fear pervading 1803. The economic, social and political reactions to the war affected the prints less directly. Before 1803 the prints reflected much the same opinions as that of the middle and late eighteenth century; new ideas and varations were small. In 1803 all the print topics covered in this thesis reflected a patriotic, nationalistic, convulsive shift in ideology or quantity. Although from 1804-1814 there was a tendency to slip back towards the pre-1803 norms, the visual ideological concept of nationalism appears to have been permanently influenced by the struggle for national survival in 1803. In some print topics 1814 demonstrates a secondary peak of nationalistic sentiment.

The change in English Franco-phobia is most easily and directly attributed to war. The nationalistic surge of 1803 co-incided with the personification of the militaristic Napoleon as France. Pre-war attitudes to the French, which had been dominated by ridicule, rivalry and contempt (an element of loathing follows the September massacres of 1792) hardened during the invasion threat of 1803-5. Prints increasingly reflect hostility rather than rivalry, hate rather than ridicule and loathing rather than contempt. Although it has been suggested that the promotion of Franco-phobia was an upper class "plot" to divert the attentions of the lower classes from internal to external evils, the prints contain no evidence of

a deliberate or organised upper class campaign. Taken in mass they do have the effect of propaganda, but this sprang mainly from a natural fear and rivalry to the French, to which all classes identified with from 1803-14. Franco-phobia provided a unifying impulse to English nationalism.

Just as there is no evidence for an organised campaign of Franco-phobia, the upper classes and governing elites did little to promote state-sponsored nationalism based on symbols of traditional authority, more specifically the King. In the prints the popularity of the Monarch was never large, except in the surge of nationalism of 1803. However in this case it appears that the prints' tendency towards the negative ran counter to a wider support for the Monarch elsewhere. As political leadership was lost to the Monarch his position became increasingly symbolic and was "safely" identified with national success. Associated with the traditional elements of objective nationalism the appeal of the Monarch, like that of Franco-phobia, cut across class barriers. In the prints the tendency to substitute symbols of Monarchy, a crown, an oak or the sun when praising the Monarch tends to support this theory.

However the national ideal that the prints did visualise, was not the Monarch, but an image complex whose main components were Britannia and the constitution. Again based on tradition, Britannia and the constitution were constantly visualised in association with liberty, freedom, prosperity, truth, justice and honesty. This image complex expressed the self congratulatory aspect of nationalism and provided an ideology of English superiority to other nations. The image of the constitution was mainly used as a symbol in the ideological struggle against revolutionary principles, from 1793-1802. Its positive symbolism was such that on the surface it

appealed to all social groups. However it could be manipulated to support both reform or the established order. As a symbol of national unity it masked essential divisions in English society. Britannia too was initally a double symbol used both to support and criticise the established order. As war went on, her characteristics underwent a subtle shift away from her role as the passive expression of national ideals towards a figure of commercial and military might. She began to be adopted as the symbol of middle class blue water nationalism and as such fore shadows her role as the symbol of imperial Britain under Victoria.

Compared to Britannia it seems at first that John Bull is, unusually, a lower class symbol and hero. He is indeed often lower class and at times a hero but (except for 1803) not usually at the same time. Before 1803 he is usually an uncouth yokelish or ugly urban figure portrayed as the victim of politics and war hardship. His virtues of ungrumbling fortitude, simplicity and honesty are far outweighed by his faults of stupidity, passivity and the negative visual image. In 1803 the national crisis required an ungrumbling fortitude from the English peoples and John captured the imagination as an opponent of Napoleon. It is a curious property of the British to like their heros less than perfect and John was often a bully or an underdog. During 1803, and certainly afterwards from 1804-1814 when John is an active positive figure in the prints, he is increasingly depicted as an upper or middle class figure. Under the impact of war certain lower class virtues; fortitude, simplicity and honesty were promoted as national and identified with the middle and upper classes. The wide appeal of these virtues is evident in their popularity today.

Surprisingly, the war had very little impact on the image of

the army in print; it remained almost totally negative. The irregular forces, too, were treated with constant ridicule. Moral and more potently economic objections to war remained an important negative counterpoint to pro-war nationalism throughout this period. What the war did do was to help promote the theory that Britain did, and should always, rule the waves. Naval might was restrained in the prints to an image of tall ships hovering in the background. These ships were symbols simultaneously of naval and commercial strength. More than any other symbol they reflect the ideology of the London city interest. The celebration of naval and commercial strength was not a new phenomenon but it intensified during this period.

To conclude, the prints of the period depict a trend towards the ideology of middle class nationalism. This was both civilian, praising the virtues of an increasingly bourgeois John Bull and celebrating commercial might, as well as naval. Traditional symbols of nationalism remained and they were now closely identified with the middle and upper classes. As their symbolic meaning narrowed and solidified their appeal remained wide, open to all classes. The English people confident in the superiority of their character and the righteousness of their ideals looked outwards with hostility and contempt to the French (and indeed most other nations). The vehicle for this outward expression was the one that was to persist throughout the nineteenth century, blue water nationalism.

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